

1509/1428.

THE
L I F E
OF
BARON FREDERICK FRENCK;

CONTAINING
HIS ADVENTURES;

HIS CRUEL AND EXCESSIVE SUFFERINGS, DURING TEN YEARS
IMPRISONMENT, AT THE FORTRESS OF MAGDEBURG,
BY COMMAND OF THE LATE

KING OF PRUSSIA;

ALSO,

A N E C D O T E S,
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND PERSONAL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,
BY THOMAS HOLCROFT.

V O L. I.

D U B L I N:

PRINTED FOR MESSRS. CHAMBERLAINE, WOGAN, BYRNE,
W. PORTER, M'KENZIE, JONES, MOORE,
AND DORNIN.

M.DCC.LXXXIX.

THE

JOURNAL

OF

THE

RECORD

OF

THE

RECORD

OF

THE

RECORD

OF

THE

RECORD

OF

THE

RECORD

OF

THE

RECORD

OF

THE

P R E F A C E,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THERE have been two authentic editions of the following work, in the German language:—The first, printed at Vienna; the second, at Berlin. Each of these have been mutilated, in certain places, by the censor, as it may be presumed, of each city; such being the practice, in most of the European states, with works much less free than the *Life of Baron Trenck*. In general, however, they agree; and the miracle is that a book, so boldly written, should have been licensed. No stronger proof can be urged of its authenticity.

The translation was begun from the edition of Berlin, and was considerably advanced in the first volume, when the translator learned there were two editions, and procured that of Vienna. Previous to this, he had read an abstract of a translation in French, where, several passages omitted in the edition of Berlin, were inserted: and, finding they connected the narrative, these he incorporated,

but included such passages between commas, intending to inform his readers of their supposed doubtful authority: he has since found that this Abstract of the Life of Baron Trenck, in French, was made from the edition of Vienna; consequently, that the few passages in the following translation, between inverted commas, are *not* of doubtful authority.

The Life of Baron Trenck, is, in point of composition, a work of so extraordinary a nature, that greater liberties must be taken, of omitting and compressing passages, in the translation of this, than would, perhaps, be found necessary in any other work, so well worthy of translation. The author's haste, his daring spirit, his lively imagination, and his sensibility of heart, were qualities so ill adapted to the cool and clear explanation of affairs so intricate, so oppressive, and which so evidently preyed upon his mind as those of his Vienna law-suits, in the military court of Kriegsrath, that his repetitions, complaints, remonstrances, appeals to the heart, execrations against injustice, and the desponding consolation he found in his own honour and honesty, are unceasing. Surely, however, they are not unmoving: they are often beautiful, often sublime; and, therefore, have often been retained. Sometimes they are omitted or contracted.

The preface and dedication in the first volume are not inserted, because they consist only of the same thoughts, conveyed in nearly the same words, which are so much dwelt upon in the work.

The dedication has the singularity of being addressed to the Ghost of Frederic, late King of Prussia, but contains nothing else of novelty. Some passages

passages are suppressed, the omission of which, when read in the original, will need no apology. The Baron had lived in the corrupt school of Frederic *the Great*, and had acquired strange ideas, on certain subjects, * there dignified by the epithet philosophy; although he preserved the manly sense, even in that court, to abhor its Ganymedes, and thereby to incur denunciation of vengeance from the monarch.

The man of feeling, and the friend of freedom, will read this work with sensations perhaps too strong: it will remain an eternal monument of the detestable, the diabolical effects of despotism.

The historian will acquire from him essential information concerning the characters of persons, courts, and kingdoms, highly illustrative of the annals of the present century.

The philosopher will meditate on the manners of the people of Germany; will wonder, while reading, to recollect that there, as in states more improved, such numbers should remain so, almost miraculously, ignorant, superstitious, and credulous, while knowledge and science appear to be so far advanced; will sigh, to be so repeatedly told of military courts, and judges condemned to sweep the streets, after effecting the ruin of thousands; will incessantly reflect, with amazement, at the strange jargon, and confusion, that still are so universal over the globe, as he reads the words king, liberty, vassal, military sentence, property, just claim, and an infinity of other heterogeneous and incompatible

* See Vol. II page 66, of the edition printed at Vienna, and Vol. II. page 56, of that of Berlin.

phrases; continually will he exclaim—How many ages yet, oh world, must thou exist, ere thy sons shall indeed learn wisdom!

The book is, what it should be, the perfect resemblance of its author; an original, bold, and interesting picture. Like him, it has its defects, but they are forgotten in the admiration of its inherent and masculine beauties.



THE
L I F E
OF
BARON FREDERIC TRENCK.

I WAS born at Königsberg in Prussia, February 16, 1726, of one of the most ancient families of the country. My father, a knight of the military order, lord of Great Scharlack, Schakulack, and Meicken, and major-general of cavalry, died in 1740, after having received eighteen wounds in the Prussian service.—My mother descended from the house of Derschau, was daughter of the president of the high court at Königsberg: she had two brothers generals of infantry, and a third, minister of state, and post-master-general at Berlin. After my father's death in 1740, she married Count Lostange, lieutenant-colonel in the Kiow regiment of cuirassiers, with whom, leaving Prussia, she went and resided at Breslaw. I had two brothers and a sister; my youngest brother was taken, by my mother, into Silesia; the other was, also, a cornet in this last-named regiment of Kiow; and my sister was married to the only son of the aged General Valdow, who quitted the service, and with whom she lived, in Brandenburg, on his estates.

My

My ancestors, both of the male and female line, are famous in the chronicles of the North, among the ancient Teutonic knights, who conquered Courland, Prussia, and Livonia.

I seek not, by this recital, to gain estimation, much less to vaunt of the accident of noble birth, which, when unsupported by a noble mind, I hold in sovereign contempt.

My reason for insisting on this circumstance is, that it has been contested and denied by some, who deem high birth to be the only test and standard of merit.

I write not, however, to a circle so narrow or ill-judging, but to the liberal, and the wise; to the world at large; hoping my story may afford useful lessons of morality, inspiring patience, hope, and fortitude. Enough, therefore, of, and for ever adieu to, my noble ancestry: what I have said is sufficient to rescue my children from all pretended obloquy; to shew they are not vassals born; and, as I trust, to inspire emulation, remembering their name is Trenck, and the examples left by their forefathers.

By temperament I was choleric, and addicted to pleasure and dissipation, which last defect my tutors found most difficult to overcome: happily, they were aided by a love of knowledge inherent in me, an emulative spirit, and a thirst of fame, which disposition it was my father's care to cherish. A too great consciousness of innate worth gave me a too great degree of pride, but the endeavours of my instructor to inspire humility were not all lost; and habitual reading, well-timed praise, and the pleasures flowing from science, made the labours of study at length my recreation.

My memory became remarkable; I was well read in the Holy Scriptures, the classics, and ancient history; was intimately acquainted with geography; could



could draw accurately, and learnt fencing, riding, and other necessary exercises.

My religion was Lutheran; but morality, and not superstitious bigotry, or childish fears, was taught me by my father, and by the worthy man to whose care he committed the forming of my heart, and whose memory I shall ever hold in veneration. While a boy, I was enterprising in all the tricks of boys, and exercised my wit in crafty excuses: the warmth of my passions, then and afterwards, gave a satyric biting cast to my writings, whence it has been imagined, by those who knew but little of me, I was a dangerous man; though, I am conscious, this was a hasty and false judgment.

A soldier himself, my father would have all his sons the same: thus, when we quarrelled, we were not admitted to terminate our disputes in the common way, but were provided with wooden sabres, sheathed with leather, and brandishing these, contested, by blows, for victory, while our father sat laughing, pleased at our valour and address; but this, and the praises he bestowed, had the bad effect of encouraging a disposition, which, with passions like mine, ought carefully to have been counteracted.

Covetous of praise, and accustomed to receive the prize, and be the hero of scholastic contentions, I acquired also the bad habit of disputation, and of imagining myself a sage when little more than a boy. I became stubborn in argument; hasty to correct, instead of patiently listening; and, by my presumption, continually liable to incite enmity.

Gentle to my inferiors, but jealous of contradiction, and the pride of power, I may hence date the origin of all my evils. The abhorrence, too, I had of arbitrary power, and its abuse, for the silent acquiescence in which my education, and book-taught principles but ill fitted me, were additional causes.

How

How might a man, however great his talents, imbued with the heroic principles of liberty, hope advancement and happiness, under the despotic and iron government of Frederic? I was taught neither to know, nor to avoid, but to despise the whip of slavery. Had I learnt hypocrisy, craft, and meanness, I had long since been field-marshal, and in quiet possession of my vast Hungarian estates, and had not passed the best years of my life in the dungeons of Magdebourg. I was addicted to no vice; I laboured in the cause of science, honour and virtue; kept no vicious company; was never, during the whole course of my life, once intoxicated; was no gamester, no consumer of time in idleness nor brutal pleasures; but devoted many hundred laborious nights to make myself useful to my country; yet was I punished with a severity too cruel, even, for the most worthless, or most villainous.

I mean in my narrative, to consult truth and candour alone, and never to conceal or screen my failings: I wish to make my work an instructive and moral lesson; yet is it an innate and inexpressible satisfaction, that I am conscious of never having acted with guilt or dishonour, even to the last act of this distressful tragedy.

I shall say little more of the first years of my life, except that my father, who had a tender affection for me, took especial care of my education, and sent me, at the age of thirteen, to the university of Königsberg, where, under the tuition of Kowalewsky, my progress was rapid. There were fourteen other noblemen, of the best families, in the same house, and under the same master.

The year following, that is to say in 1740, I had a quarrel with one young Wallenrodt, a fellow student, much stronger and taller than myself, and who, thereupon, despising my weakness, thought proper to give me a blow. I demanded satisfaction

—he came not to the appointed place, but treated my demand with contempt; and I, forgetting all further respect, found a second, and attacked him in open day. We fought, and I had the fortune to wound him twice; the first time, in the arm; the second, in the hand.

This affair incited inquiry:—Doctor Kowalewsky, our tutor, laid complaints before the University, and I was condemned to three hours confinement; but my grandfather, and guardian, President Derfchau, with whom I was a great favourite, was so pleased with my courage, that he instantly took me from this house, and placed me under Professor Christiani.

Here I first began to enjoy full and entire liberty; and, from this worthy man, I learnt all I know of experimental philosophy and science. He loved me as his own son, and sometimes continued instructing me till midnight. Under his auspices, in 1742, I maintained, with great success, two public theses, although I was then but sixteen; an effort and an honour till then unknown.

Three days after my last public exordium, a contemptible fellow, and professional bully, fought a quarrel with me, and, as I may say, obliged me to draw in my own defence, whom on this occasion, I wounded in the groin.

This continued success highly inflated my valour, and, from that time, I began to wear a sword of enormous length, and to assume the accoutrements and appearance of Hector.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, after this last affair, before I had another with a lieutenant of the garrison, one of my friends, whom I had insulted, who received two wounds in the contest.

I ought to remark, that, at this time, the University of Königsberg was still highly privileged. To send a challenge was held honourable; and this was not only permitted but would have been difficult

to

to prevent, considering the great number of proud, hot headed, and turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to study, and of whom there were more than five hundred. This brought the University into disrepute, and the abuse has been endeavoured to be remedied. Men have acquired a great extent of true knowledge, and have begun to perceive that the university ought to be a place of instruction, and not a field of battle; and that blood cannot be honourably shed, except in defence of life or country.

In November, 1742, the King sent his adjutant-general, Baron Lottum, who was related to my mother, to Königsberg, with whom I dined at my grandfather's. He conversed much with me, and, after various questions, meant to discover what my talents and inclinations were, he demanded, as if in joke, whether I had any inclination to go with him to Berlin, and serve my country, as my ancestors had ever done: adding, that, in the army, I should find much better opportunities of sending challenges, than at the University. Inflamed with the desire of distinguishing myself, I listened with rapture to the proposition, and in a few days we departed for Potsdam.

On the morrow after my arrival, I was presented to the King, as, indeed, I had before been in the year 1740, with the character of being, then, one of the most hopeful youths of the university. My reception was most flattering; the justness of my replies, to the questions he put, my height, figure, and confidence, pleased him, and I soon obtained permission to enter as a cadet in his body guards, with a promise of quick preferment.

The body guards formed, at this time, a model and school for the Prussian cavalry: it consisted of one single squadron of men selected from the whole army,

army, whose uniform was the most splendid in all Europe. Two thousand rix-dollars were necessary to equip an officer: the cuirass was wholly plated with silver; and the horse furniture and accoutrements alone cost four hundred rix-dollars.

This Squadron only consisted in six officers, and a hundred and forty-four men; but there were always fifty or sixty supernumeraries, and as many horses, for the King incorporated all the most handsome men he found in these guards. The officers were the best taught of any the army contained; the King himself formed them, and afterwards sent them to instruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. Their rise was rapid; if they behaved well; but they were broken for the least fault, and punished, by being sent to garrison regiments. It was, likewise, necessary they should be tolerably rich, as well as possess such talents as might be successfully employed, both at court, and in the army.

There are no soldiers in the world who undergo so much as this body guard; for, during the time I was in the service of Frederic, I often had not eight hours sleep in eight days. Exercise began at four in the morning, and experiments were made of all the alterations the King meant to introduce in his cavalry. Ditches of four, five, six feet, and still wider, were leaped, till that some one broke his neck; hedges, in like manner, were freed, and the horse ran careers, meeting each other full speed in a kind of lifts of more than half a league in length. We had often, in these our exercises, several men and horses killed or wounded.

It happened, more frequently than otherwise, that the same experiments were repeated after dinner with fresh horses; and it was not uncommon, at Potzdam, to hear the alarm sounded twice in a night. The horses stood in the King's stables; and whoever had not dressed, armed himself, saddled his horse, mounted,

mounted, and appeared before the palace in eight minutes, was put under arrest for fourteen days.

Scarcely were the eyes closed before the trumpet again sounded, to accustom youth to vigilance. I lost, in one year, three horses, which had either broken their legs, in leaping ditches, or died of fatigue.

I cannot give a stronger picture of this service, than by saying that the body guard lost more men and horses in one year's peace, than, during the following year, they did in two battles.

We had, at this time, three stations : our service, during winter, was at Berlin ; where we attended the opera, all public festivals : in the spring we were exercised at Charlottenberg ; and at Potsdam, or wherever the King went, during the summer. The six officers of the guard dined with the King, and, on gala days, with the Queen. It may be presumed, there was not, at that time, on earth, a better school to form an officer and a man of the world, than was the court of Berlin.

I had scarcely been six weeks a cadet before the King took me aside, one day, after the parade, and, having examined me near half an hour, on various subjects, commanded me to come and speak to him on the morrow.

His intention was to find whether the accounts that had been given him of my memory had not been exaggerated ; and, that he might be convinced, he first gave me the names of fifty soldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. He next repeated the subjects of two letters, which I immediately composed in French and Latin ; the one I wrote, the other I dictated. He next ordered me to trace, with promptitude, a landscape from nature, which I executed with equal success ; and he then gave me a cornet's commission in his body guards.

Each mark of bounty, from the monarch, increased an ardour already great, inspired me with gratitude,
and

and the first of my wishes was, to devote my life to the service of my king and country. He spoke to me, as a sovereign should speak, like a father, like one who knew well how to estimate the gifts bestowed on me by Nature; and, perceiving, or rather feeling how much he might expect from me, became at once my instructor, and my friend.

Thus did I remain a cadet only six weeks, and few Prussians can vaunt, under the reign of Frederick, of equal good fortune.

The King not only presented me with a commission, but equipped me splendidly for the service. Thus did I suddenly find myself a courtier, and an officer in the finest, bravest, and best taught corps in Europe. My good fortune seemed unlimited, when, in the month of August 1743, the King selected me to go and instruct the Silesian cavalry in the new manœuvres, an honour never before granted to a youth of eighteen.

I have already said we were garrisoned at Berlin during winter, where the officers table was at court; and, as my reputation had preceded me, no person whatever could be better received there, or live more pleasantly.

Frederic commanded me to visit the literati, whom he had invited to his court: Maupertuis, Jordan, La Metrie, and Pollnitz were all my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happiness was well worthy being envied. In 1743 I was five feet eleven inches in height, and Nature had endowed me with every requisite to please. I lived, as I vainly imagined, without inciting enmity or malice, and my mind was wholly occupied by the desire of acquiring well-founded fame.

I had hitherto remained ignorant of love, and had been terrified from illicit commerce, by beholding the
the

the dreadful objects of the hospital at Potsdam. During the winter of 1743, the nuptials of his Majesty's sister were held, who was married to the King of Sweden, where she is at present Queen Dowager, mother of the reigning Gustavus. I, as officer of my corps, had the honour to mount guard, and escort her as far as Stettin. Here did my heart first feel a passion of which, in the course of my history, I shall have frequent occasion to speak. The object of my love was one whom I can only remember at present with reverence; and, as I write not romance, but facts, I shall here briefly say, ours was, mutually, the first fruits of affection, and that, to this hour, I regret no misfortune, no misery, with which, from a stock so noble, my destiny was interwoven. " Amid
 " the tumult, inseparable to occasions like these, on
 " which it was my duty to maintain order, a thief
 " had the address to steal my watch, and cut away
 " a part of the gold fringe which hung from the
 " waistcoat of my uniform, and escaped unperceived.
 " This accident brought on me the raillery of my
 " comrades; and the lady alluded to thence took
 " occasion to console me, by saying, it should be her
 " care that I should be no loser. Her words were
 " accompanied by a look I could not misunderstand,
 " and a few days afterward I thought myself the
 " happiest of mortals." The name, however, of this high-born lady is a secret, which must descend with me to the grave; and, though my silence concerning this incident leaves a void in my life, and, indeed, throws obscurity over a part of it, which might else be clear, I would much rather incur this reproach, than become ungrateful toward my best friend and benefactress. To her conversation, to her prudence, to the power by which she rivetted my affections wholly to herself, am I indebted for the improvement and polishing of my bodily and mental qualities. She never despised, betrayed, or abandoned me, even
 in

in the deepest of my distress; and my children alone, on my death bed, shall be taught the name of her to whom they owe the preservation of their father, and, consequently, their own existence.

I lived, at this time, perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly esteemed. The King testified his approbation at every opportunity: my mistress supplied me with more money than I could expend, "and I" "was, presently, the best equipped, and made the" "greatest figure of any officer in the whole corps." "The stile in which I lived was remarked, for" I had only received from my father's heritage, the estate of great Scharlach; the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year, which was far from sufficient to supply my then expences. My amour, in the mean time, remained a secret from my best and most intimate friends. Twice was my absence from Potsdam and Charlottenberg discovered, and I was put under arrest; but the King seemed satisfied with the excuses I made, under pretext of having been hunting, and smiled as he granted my pardon.

Never did the days of youth glide away with more apparent success, and pleasure, than during these my first years at Berlin. This good fortune was, alas! of short duration. Many are the incidents I might relate, but these I shall omit. My other adventures are numerous enough, without mingling such as may, any way, seem foreign to the subject. In this gloomy history of my life, I would paint myself to the world as I am, and, by the recital of my sufferings, afford a memorable example, and interest the heart of sensibility. I would, also, shew how my fatal destiny has deprived my children of an immense fortune; and, though I want a hundred thousand men to enforce and ensure my rights, I will still shew my heirs they are incontestable.

In the beginning of September, 1744, war, again, broke out between the houses of Austria and Prussia. We marched, with all expedition, towards Prague, traversing Saxony without opposition. I will not relate, in this place, what the great Frederic said to us, with evident emotion, when surrounded by all his officers, on the morning of our departure from Potsdam.

Should any one be desirous of writing the lives of him and his opponent, Maria Theresa, without flattery, and without fear, let him apply to me, and I will relate anecdotes most surprising on this subject, unknown to all but myself, and which never must appear under my own name.

All monarchs going to war have reason on their side; and the churches of both parties resound with prayers, and appeals to divine Justice, for the success of their arms. Frederic, on this occasion, had recourse to them, with regret, of which I was a witness.

If I am not mistaken, the King's army came before Prague on the fourteenth of September, and that of General Schwerin, which had passed through Silesia, arrived, the next day, on the other side of Moldau. In this position we were obliged to wait some days for pontons, without which we could not establish a communication between the two armies.

The height called Zischka, which overlooks the city, being guarded only by a few Croats, was instantly seized, without opposition, by some grenadiers; and the batteries, erected on the foot of that mountain, being ready, on the fifth day, played with such success, on the old town, with bombs, and red-hot balls, that it was set on fire. The King made every effort to take the city, before Prince Charles could bring his army from the Rhine to its relief.

General

General Harsch thought proper to capitulate, “ after a siege of twelve days, during which not “ more than five hundred men of the garrison, at “ the utmost, were killed and wounded, though” eighteen thousand men were made prisoners.

Thus far we had met with no impediment. The Imperial army, however, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, having quitted the banks of the Rhine, was advancing to save Bohemia.

During this campaign we saw the enemy only at a distance ; but the Austrian light troops, being thrice as numerous as ours, prevented us from all foraging. Winter was approaching, dearth and hunger made Frederic determine to retreat, without the least hope from the countries in our rear, which we had entirely laid waste as we had advanced. The severity of the season, in the month of November, rendered the soldiers excessively impatient of their hardships ; and, accustomed to conquer, the Prussians were ashamed of, and repined at, retreat : the enemy’s light troops facilitated desertion, and we lost, in a few weeks, above thirty thousand men. The pandours of my kinsman, the Austrian Trenck, were incessantly at our heels, gave us frequent alarms, did us great injury, and, by their alertness, we never could make any impression upon them with our cannon. Trenck, at length, passed the Elbe, and went and burnt, or destroyed, our magazines at Pardubitz : it was, therefore, resolved, wholly, to evacuate Bohemia.

The King hoped to have brought Prince Charles to a battle, between Benneschau and Kappunitz, but in vain : the Saxons, during the night, had erected a battery of three and twenty cannon, on a mound which separated two ponds : this was the precise road by which the King meant to make the attack.

Thus were we obliged to abandon Bohemia.—The dearth, both for man and horse, began to grow extreme. The weather was bad; the roads in deep ruts; marches were unceasing; alarms and attacks from the enemy's light troops became incessant. The discontent all these inspired was universal, and this occasioned the great loss of the army.

Under such circumstances, had Prince Charles continued to harass us, by pursuing us into Silesia, had he made a winter campaign, instead of remaining indolently at ease in Bohemia, we, certainly, should not have vanquished him, the year following, at Strigau; but he, only, followed, at a distance, as far as the Bohemian frontiers. This gave Frederick time to recover, and the more effectually, because the Austrians had the imprudence to permit the return of deserters.

This was a repetition of what had happened to Charles XII. when he suffered his Russian prisoners to return home, who, afterwards, so effectually punished his contempt of them at the battle of Pul-tawa.

Prague was obliged to be abandoned, with considerable loss; and Trenck seized on Tabor, Budweis, and Frauenberg, where he took, prisoners, the regiments of Walrabe and Kreutz.

No one would have been better able to give a faithful history of this campaign than myself, had I room in this place, and had I, at that time, been more attentive to things of moment; since I not only performed the office of adjutant to the King when he went to reconnoitre, or choose a place of encampment, but it was, moreover, my duty to provide forage for the head-quarters. “The King
“having only permitted me to take six volunteer
“guards, to execute this latter duty, I was obliged
“to add to them horse chasseurs, and hussars, with
“whom I was, continually, in motion.” I was peculiarly

culiarly fortunate on two occasions, by happening to come after the enemy, when they had left loaded waggons, and forage bundles.

I seldom passed the night in my tent during this campaign, and my indefatigable activity obtained the favour, and entire confidence of Frederic. Nothing so much contributed to inspire me with emulation, as the public praises I received, and my enthusiasm wished to perform wonders. This campaign, however, but ill supplied me with opportunities to display this my youthful ardour.

“ At length, no one durst leave the camp, notwithstanding the extremity of the dearth, because of the innumerable clouds of pandours, and hussars, that hovered every where around.”

“ No sooner were we arrived in Silesia, than the King’s body guard was sent to Berlin, there to remain in winter quarters.”

“ I should not, here, have mentioned the Bohemian war, but that, while writing the history of my life, I ought not to omit accidents by which my future destiny was influenced.”

“ One day, while at Bennaschen, I was commanded out with a detachment of thirty hussars, and twenty chasseurs, on a foraging party. I had posted my hussars in a convent, and gone myself, with the chasseurs, to a mansion-house, to seize the carts necessary for the conveyance of the hay and straw from a neighbouring farm. An Austrian lieutenant of hussars, concealed, with thirty-six horsemen, in a wood, having remarked the weakness of my escort; profiting by the moment when my people were all employed in loading the carts, and, having first seized our sentinel, fell suddenly upon them, and took them all prisoners in the very farm-yard. At this moment I was seated at my ease, beside the lady of the
“ mansion-

“ mansion-house, and was a spectator of the whole
 “ transaction through the window.”

“ Ashamed, and in despair at my negligence,
 “ the lady wished to hide me when the firing was
 “ heard in the farm-yard. By good fortune the
 “ hussars, whom I had stationed in the convent,
 “ had learnt, by a peasant, there was an Austrian
 “ detachment in the wood ; they had seen us, at a
 “ distance, enter the farm-yard, hastily marched to
 “ our aid, and we had not been taken more than
 “ two minutes before they arrived. I cannot ex-
 “ press the pleasure with which I put myself at their
 “ head.—Some of the enemy’s party escaped
 “ through a back door, but we made two and
 “ twenty prisoners, with a lieutenant of the regi-
 “ ment of Kalnockichen ; they had two men kill-
 “ ed, and one wounded ; and two, also, of my
 “ chassieurs were hewed down, by the sabre, in the
 “ hay-loft, where they were at work.”

“ We continued our forage with more caution
 “ after this accident: the horses we had taken serv-
 “ ed, in part, to draw the carts ; and, after raising
 “ a contribution of one hundred and fifty ducats,
 “ on the convent, which I distributed among the
 “ soldiers, to engage them to silence, we returned
 “ to the army, from which we were distant about
 “ two leagues.”

“ We heard firing as we marched, and the for-
 “ agers, on all sides, were battling with the ene-
 “ my. A lieutenant, and forty horse, joined me ;
 “ yet, with this reinforcement, I durst not return to
 “ the camp, because I learnt we were in danger,
 “ from more than eight hundred pandours, and
 “ hussars, who were in the plain. I, therefore,
 “ determined to take a long winding, but secret
 “ route, and had the good fortune to come safe to
 “ quarters, with my prisoners, and five and twen-
 “ ty loaded carts,—The King was at dinner
 “ when

“ when I entered his tent. Having been absent all
 “ night, it was imagined I had been taken, that
 “ accident having happened, the same day, to ma-
 “ ny others.”

“ The instant I entered, the King demanded if
 “ I returned singly. No, please your Majesty, an-
 “ swered I; I have brought five and twenty load of
 “ forage, and two and twenty prisoners, with their
 “ officer and horses.”

“ The King, then, commanded me to sit down,
 “ and turning himself toward the English Ambaf-
 “ fador, who was near him, said, laying his hand
 “ on my shoulder, *C'est un Matador de ma jeu-*
 “ *nesse.*”*

“ A reconnoitring party was, at the same mo-
 “ ment, in waiting before his tent; he, conse-
 “ quently, asked me few questions, and to those
 “ he did ask, I replied tremblingly. In a few mi-
 “ nutes he rose from the table, gave a glance at
 “ the prisoners, hung the order of Merit round my
 “ neck, commanded me to go and repose, and set
 “ off with his party.”

It is easy to conceive the embarrassment of my
 situation; my unpardonable negligence deserved that
 I should have been broken, instead of which I was
 rewarded; an instance, this, of the great influence of
 chance on the affairs of this world. How many ge-
 nerals have gained victories by their very errors,
 which have been, afterwards, attributed to their
 genius! “ It is evident, the serjeant of hussars,
 “ who retook me and my men, by bringing up his
 “ party, was much better entitled than myself to the
 “ recompense I received.” How many times after-

* Literally, “ He is a matadore of my youth.” The allusi-
 on, apparently, is to the resistless power of the Matadore at the
 game of Quadrille. T.

ward, during life, did I meet disgrace and punishment, when I deserved reward! My inquietude lest the truth should be discovered was extreme, especially recoiling how many people were in the secret; and my apprehensions were incessant.

“As I did not want money, I gave the serjeants twenty ducats each, and the soldiers one, in order to insure their silence, which, being a favourite with them, they readily promised.” I, however, was determined to declare the truth the very first opportunity, and this happened a few days after.

We were on the march, and I, as cornet, was at the head of my company, when the king advancing, beckoned me to come to him, and bade me tell him exactly how the affair I had so lately been engaged in happened.

The question, at first, made me mistrust I was betrayed, but, remarking the King had a mildness in his manner, I, presently, recovered myself, and related the exact truth. I saw the astonishment of his countenance, but I, at the same time, saw he was pleased with my sincerity. He spoke to me for half an hour, not as a king, but as a father, praised my candor, and ended with the following words, which, while life remains, I shall never forget: “Confide in the advice I give you; depend, wholly, upon me, and I will make you a man.” Whoever can feel can imagine how infinitely my gratitude towards the King was increased, by this his great goodness; from that moment I had no other desire than to live and die for his service.

I, soon, perceived the confidence the King had in me after this explanation, of which I received very frequent marks, the following winter, at Berlin. He permitted me to be present at his conversations with the literati of his court, and my state was truly enviable.

I received,

I received, this same winter, more than five hundred ducats as presents. So much happiness could not but excite jealousy, and this began to be manifest on every side. I had too little disguise for a courtier, and my heart was much too open and frank.

Before I proceed, I will, here, relate an incident of the last campaign, which will, no doubt, be read in the history of Frederic.

During the retreat from Bohemia, the King came to Kollin, with his horse guards, the cavalry piquets of the head quarters, and the second and third battalions of guards. We had only four field pieces, and our squadron was stationed in one of the suburbs. Our advanced posts, towards evening were driven back into the town, and the hussars entered pell mell: the enemy's light troops swarmed over the country, and my commanding officer sent me, immediately, to receive the King's orders. After much search, I found him, at the top of a steeple with a telescope in his hand: Never did I see him so disturbed, or undecided, as on this occasion. Orders were, immediately, given that we should retreat through the city into the opposite suburb, where we were to halt, but not unsaddle.

We had not been here long, before a most heavy rain fell, and the night became exceedingly dark. My cousin Trenck made his appearance about nine in the evening, with his Pandour and Janissary music, and set fire to several houses. They found we were in the suburb, and began to fire upon us from the city windows. The tumult became extreme; the city was too full for us to re-enter; the gate was shut, and they from above fired at us with our field pieces. Trenck had let in the waters upon us, and we were up to the girths by midnight, and almost in despair. We lost seven men, and my horse was wounded in the neck.

The

The King and all of us had, certainly, been made prisoners, had my cousin, as he has since told me, been able to continue the assault he had begun; but, a cannon ball having wounded him in the foot, he was carried off, and the pandours retired. The corps of Nassau arrived next day to our aid; we quitted Kollin, and, during the march, the King said to me, "Your cousin had nearly played us a malicious prank last night, but the deserters say he is killed." He then asked me what our relationship was, and there our conversation ended.

It was about the middle of December when he came to Berlin, where I was received with open arms. I became less cautious than formerly, and, perhaps, was more narrowly observed. A lieutenant of the foot guards, who was a public Ganymede, and against whom I had that natural antipathy and abhorrence I have for all such wretches, having indulged himself in some very impertinent jokes on the secret of my amour, I bestowed on him the epithet he deserved: we drew our swords, and he was wounded. On the Sunday following, I presented myself to pay my respects to his Majesty on the parade, who said to me, as he passed, "The thunder begins to roll, and the bolt may fall: beware." He added nothing more."

Some little time after, I was a few minutes too late on the parade; the king remarked it, and sent me, under arrest, to the foot guard at Potsdam. When I had been here a fortnight, Colonel Wartenleben came, and advised me to petition for pardon. I was, then, too much a novice in the modes of the court to follow his counsel, nor did I, even, remark the person who gave it me was himself a most subtle courtier. I complained bitterly that I had so long been deprived of liberty, for a fault which was usually punished by three, or, at the most, six days arrest. Here, accordingly, I remained.

Eight days after, the King being come to Potsdam, I was sent, by General Bourke, to Berlin, to carry some letters, but without having seen the King. On my return, I presented myself to him on the parade; and, as our squadron was garrisoned at Berlin, I asked, "Does it please your Majesty that I should go and join my corps?" "Whence come you?" answered he—"From Berlin."—"And where were you before you went to Berlin?"—"Under arrest."—"Then under arrest you must remain."

I did not recover my liberty, till three days before our departure for Silesia, towards which we marched, with the utmost speed, in the beginning of May, to commence our second campaign.

Here I must recount an event which happened that winter, and which became the source of all my misfortunes. I must intreat my readers to pay the utmost attention to this, since this error, if innocence can be error, was the cause that the most faithful, and the best of subjects became bewildered in scenes of wretchedness, and was the victim of misery, from his nineteenth to the sixtieth year of his age, I dare presume this true narrative, supported by testimonies the most authentic, may fully vindicate my present honour, and my future memory.

Francis Baron of Trenck was the son of my father's brother, consequently my cousin german. I shall speak, hereafter, of the singular events of his life. Being a commander of pandours in the Austrian service, and grievously wounded in Bavaria, in the year 1743, he wrote to my mother, informing her he intended me, her eldest son, for his universal legatee. This letter, to which I returned no answer, was sent me to Potsdam. I was so satisfied with my situation, and had such numerous reasons so to be, considering the kindness with which the King treated me, that I would not have exchanged my

my good fortune for all the treasures of the Great Mogul.

On the 12th of February, 1744, being at Berlin, I was in company with Captain Jaschinsky, commander of the body-guard, the captain of which ranks as colonel in the army, together with Lieutenant Studnitz, and Coronet Wagnitz. The latter was my field comrade, and is, at this present, commander general of the cavalry of Hesse Cassel. The Austrian Trenck became the subject of conversation, and Jaschinsky asked, if I was his kinsman: I answered yes, and, immediately, mentioned his having made me his universal heir. "And what answer have you returned?" said Jaschinsky—"None at all."

The whole company, then, observed that, in a case like the present, I was much to blame not to answer; that the least I could do would be to thank him for his good wishes, and intreat a continuance of them. Jaschinsky further added, "Desire him
"to send you some of his fine Hungarian horses
"for your own use, and give me the letter; I will
"convey it to him, by means of Mr. Boffart, legation counsellor of the Saxon embassy; but on
"condition that you will give me one of the horses.
"This correspondence is a family, and not a state
"affair; beside that, I will be answerable for the
"consequences."

I, immediately, took my commander's advice, and began to write; and had those, who suspected me, thought proper to make the least inquiry into these circumstances, the four witnesses, who read what I wrote, could have attested my innocence, and rendered it indubitable. I gave my letter, open, to Jaschinsky, who sealed and sent it himself.

I must omit none of the incidents concerning this letter, it being the sole cause of all my sufferings. I shall, therefore, here, relate an event, which was the

the first occasion of the unjust suspicions entertained against me.

One of my grooms, with two led horses, was, among many others, taken by the pandours of Trenck. When I returned to the camp, I was to accompany the King on a reconnoitring party. My horse was too tired, and I had no other: I informed him of my embarrassment, and his Majesty, immediately, made me a present of a fine English courser.

Some days after, I was exceedingly astonished to see my groom return, with my two horses, and a pandour trumpeter, who brought me a letter, containing the following words:

“ The Austrian Trenck is not at war with the Prussian Trenck, but, on the contrary, is happy to have recovered the horses from his hussars, and return them to whom they first belonged, &c.”

I went, the same day, to pay my respects to the King, who, receiving me with great coldness, said, “ Since your cousin has returned your own horses, you have no more need of mine.”

There were too many who envied me to suppose these words would escape repetition. The return of the horses seems, infinitely, to have increased that suspicion Frederic entertained against me, and, therefore, became one of the principal causes of my misfortunes: it is for this reason that I dwell upon this and such-like small incidents, they being necessary for my own justification, and, were it possible, for that of the King. My innocence is, indeed, at present, universally acknowledged, by the court, the army, and the whole nation, who, all, mention the injustice I suffered, with pity, and the fortitude with which it was endured, with surprise.

We marched for Silesia, to enter on our second campaign, which, to the Prussians, was as bloody, and murderous, as it was glorious.

The

The King's head quarters were fixed at the convent of Kamenz, where we rested fourteen days, and the army remained in cantonments. Prince Charles, instead of following us into Bohemia, had the imprudence to occupy the plain of Strigau, and we, already, concluded his army was beaten. Whoever is well acquainted with tactics, and the Prussian manœuvres, will easily judge, without the aid of calculation or witchcraft, whether a well or ill-disciplined army, in an open plain, ought to be victorious.

The army, hastily, left its cantonments, and, in twenty-four hours, was in order of battle; and, on the 14th of June, eighteen thousand bodies lay stretched on the plain of Strigau. The allied armies of Austria and Saxony were totally defeated.

The body guard was on the right; and, before the attack, the King said to our squadron, "Prove, to-day, my children, that you are my body guard, and give no Saxon quarter."

We made three attacks on the cavalry, and two on the infantry. Nothing could withstand a squadron like this, which, for men, horses, courage, and experience, was, assuredly, the first in the world. Our corps, alone, took seven standards and five pair of colours, and, in less than an hour, the affair was over.

I received a pistol shot in my right hand, my horse was desperately wounded, and I was obliged to change on the third charge. The day after the battle, all the officers were rewarded with the Order of Merit. For my own part, I remained four weeks, among the wounded, at Schweidnitz, where there were sixteen thousand men under the torture of the army surgeons, many of whom had not their wounds dressed till the third day.

I was near three months before I recovered the use of my hand: I, nevertheless, rejoined my corps, continued to perform my duty, and, as usual, accompanied

accompanied the King, when he went to reconnoitre. For some time past, he had placed confidence in me, and his kindness towards me, continually, increased, which raised my gratitude, even to enthusiasm.

I, also, performed the service of adjutant, during this campaign, a circumstantial account of which, no person is better enabled to write than myself, I having been present at all that passed. I was the scholar of the greatest master the art of war ever knew, and who believed me worthy to receive his instructions; but the volumes I am writing would be insufficient to contain all that personally relates to myself.

I must, here, mention an adventure that happened at this time, and which will shew the art of the great Frederic, in forming youth for his service, and devotedly attaching them to his person.

I was exceedingly fond of hunting, in which, notwithstanding it was severely forbidden, I indulged myself. Laden with pheasants, I one day returned: but, judge my astonishment, and fears, when I saw the army had decamped, and that it was with difficulty I could overtake the rear-guard.

In this my distress, I applied to an officer of hussars, who, instantly, lent me his horse, by the aid of which I rejoined my corps, which, always, marched as the vanguard. Mounting my own horse, I, tremblingly, rode to the head of my division, which it was my duty to precede. The King, however, had remarked my absence, or, rather, had been reminded of it by my superior officer, who, for some time past, had become my enemy.

Just as the army halted, to encamp, the King rode towards me, made a signal for me to approach, and, reading my fears in my countenance, said, with a smile, "What, are you just returned from hunting?"—"Yes, your Majesty;—I hope—" Here, interrupting me, he added, "Well, well, for this
" time

“ time I shall take no further notice, remembering
 “ Potsdam :—but, however, let me find you more
 “ attentive to your duty.”

So ended this affair, for which I deserved to have been broken. I must, here, remind my readers, that the King meant by the words *remembering Potsdam*, he remembered I had been punished too severely the winter before, and that my present pardon was intended as a compensation.

This was, indeed, to think and act greatly; this was, indeed, the true art of forming great men; an art much more effectual than that of ferocious generals; who threaten subalterns with imprisonment, and chains, on every slight occasion; and, while indulging all the rigours of military law, make no distinction of minds or men. Frederic, on the contrary, sometimes pardoned the failings of genius, while mechanic souls lie mechanically punished, according to the very letter of the laws of war.

I shall, further, remark, the King took no more notice of my late fault, except that, sometimes, when I had the honour to dine with him, he would ridicule people who were too often at the chace, or, who were so choleric that they took occasion to quarrel for the least trifle.

The campaign passed in different manoeuvres, marches, and counter marches. Our corps was the most fatigued, as being encamped round the King's tent, the station of which is central, and having, likewise, the care of the vanguard: we were, therefore, obliged to begin our march two hours sooner than the remainder of the army, that we might be in our place. We, also, accompanied the King, whenever he went to reconnoitre; traced the lines of encampment; led the horse to water; inspected the head quarters; regulated the march and encampment, according to the King's orders; which robbed

bed us of much rest, we being but six officers to execute so many different functions.

Still further, we often performed the office of couriers, to bear the royal commands to detachments. —The King was particularly careful that the officers of his guards, whom he intended should become excellent in the art of tactics, should not be idle in his school. It was necessary to do much, in order that much might be learnt. Labour, vigilance, activity, the love of glory, and the love of their country, animated all his generals; into whom, it may be said, he infused his spirit.

In this school I gained instruction, and here, already, was I selected as one destined to instruct others: yet, in my fortieth year, a great general, at Vienna, told me, “My dear Trenck, our discipline would be too difficult for you to learn; for which, indeed, you are too far advanced in life.” Agreeable to this wise decision was I made an Austrian invalid, and an invalid have always remained: a judgment, like this, would have been laughed at, most certainly, at Berlin.

If I mistake not, the famous battle of Soor, or Sorau, was fought on the 14th day of September. The King had sent so many detachments into Saxony, Bohemia, and Silesia, that the main army did not consist of more than twenty six thousand men. —Neglecting advice, and obstinate in judging his enemy by numbers, and not according to the excellence of discipline, and other accidents, Prince Charles, blind to the real strength of the Prussian armies, had enclosed this small number of Pomeranian and Brandenburg regiments with more than eighty-six thousand men, intending to take them all prisoners.

It will soon be seen, from my narrative, with what kind of secrecy his plan was laid and executed.

The King came into my tent about midnight; as he, also, did into that of all the officers, to awaken them: his orders were, secretly to saddle, leave the baggage in the rear, and that the men should stand ready to mount at the word of command.

Lieutenant Studnitz and myself attended the King, who went in person, and gave directions through the whole army: meantime, break of day was expected with anxiety.

Opposite the defile, through which the enemy were to march to the attack, eight field-pieces were concealed behind a hill. The King must, necessarily, have been informed of the whole plan of the Austrian general, for he had called in the advanced posts from the heights, that he might lull him into security, and make him imagine we should be surprised in the midst of sleep.

Scarcely did break of day appear before the Austrian artillery, situated upon the heights, began to play upon our camp, and their cavalry to march, through the defile, to the attack.

As suddenly were we in battle array; for, in less than ten minutes, we ourselves began the attack, notwithstanding our small number, the whole army only containing five regiments of cavalry, and fell with such fury upon the enemy, who, at this time, were wholly employed in forming their men at the mouth of the defile, and that slowly, little expecting so sudden and violent a charge, that we drove them back into the defile, where they pressed upon each other in crowds: the King, himself, stood ready to unmask his eight field-pieces, and a dreadful and bloody slaughter ensued in this narrow place; from which the enemy had not the power to retreat. This single incident gained the battle, and deceived all the hopes of Prince Charles.

Nadaſti, Trenck, and the light troops, sent to attack our rear, were employed in pillaging the camp.

camp. The ferocious Croats met no opposition, while this their error made our victory more secure. —It deserves to be noticed that, when advice was brought to the King, the enemy had fallen upon, and were plundering the camp, his answer was,—
 “ So much the better; they have found themselves
 “ employment, and will be no impediment to our
 “ main design.”

Our victory was complete, but all our baggage was lost; the head quarters, utterly undefended, were totally stripped; and Trenck had, for his part of the booty, the King's tent, and his service of plate.

I have mentioned this circumstance here, because that, in the year 1746, my cousin Trenck, having fallen into the power of his enemies, who had instituted a legal process against him, was accused, by some villainous wretches, of having surprised the King in bed at the battle of Sorau, and, afterwards, released him for a bribe.

What was still worse, they hired a common prostitute, a native of Brunn, who pretended she was the daughter of Marshal Schwerin, to give evidence she, herself, was in bed with the King when Trenck entered his tent, whom he immediately made prisoner, and as immediately released.

To this part of the prosecution I myself, an eyewitness, can answer: the thing was false and impossible. He was informed of the intended attack. —I accompanied the watchful King from midnight till four in the morning, which time he employed in riding through the camp, and making the necessary preparations to receive the enemy; and the action began at five. Trenck could not take the King in bed, for the battle was almost gained when he, and his pandours, entered the camp, and plundered the head quarters.

As for the tale of Mrs. Schwerin, it is only fit to be told to school-boys, or examined by the Inquisition, and was very unworthy of making part of the legal prosecution against an innocent man at Vienna.

This incident, however, is so remarkable, that I shall give, in this work, a farther account of my kinsman, and what was called his criminal process; at reading which the world will be astonished. My own history is so connected with his, that this is necessary, and the more so, because there are many ignorant or wicked people at Vienna, who believe, or affirm, Trenck had, actually, taken the King of Prussia prisoner.

Never, yet, was there a traitor of the name of Trenck; and I hope to prove, in the clearest manner, the Austrian Trenck as faithfully served the Empress Queen, as the Prussian Trenck did Frederic his King. Maria Theresa, speaking to me of him some time after his death, and the snares that had been laid for him, said, "Your kinsman has made a better end, than will be the fate of his accusers and judges."

Of this more hereafter: I approach that epocha, when my own misfortunes began, and when the sufferings of martyrdom attended me from youth downward, till my hairs grew grey.

A few days after the battle of Sorau, the usual camp postman brought me a letter from my cousin Trenck, the colonel of pandours, dated at Essék, four months back, of which the following is a copy.

"Your letter, of the twelfth of February, from
 "Berlin, informs me you desire to have some Hun-
 "garian horses. On these you would come and
 "attack me and my pandours. I saw, with plea-
 "sure, during the last campaign, that the Prussian
 "Trenck was, also, a good soldier; and that I
 "might

“ might give you some proofs of my attachment, I,
 “ then, returned the horses which my men had taken.
 “ If, however, you wish to have Hungarian
 “ horses, you must take mine, in like manner, from
 “ me in the field of battle; or, should you so think
 “ fit, come and join one who will receive you with
 “ open arms, like his friend and son, and who will
 “ procure you every advantage you can desire, &c.”

At first I was terrified at reading this letter, yet could not help smiling. Cornet Wagenitz, now general in chief of the Hesse Cassel forces, and Lieutenant Grotthausen, both now alive, and then present, were my camp comrades. I gave them the letter to read, and they laughed at its contents. It was determined to shew it to our superior officer, Jaschinsky, on a promise of secrecy, and it was, accordingly, shewn him within an hour after it was received.

The reader will be so kind as to recollect that, as I have before said, it was this Colonel Jaschinsky who, on the 12th of February, the same year, at Berlin, prevailed on me to write to the Austrian Trenck, my cousin; that he received the letter open, and undertook to send it according to its address; also that, in this letter, I, in jest, had asked him to send me some Hungarian horses, and, when they came, had promised one to Jaschinsky. He read the letter with an air of some surprise; we laughed, and, it being whispered through the army that, in consequence of our late victory, detached corps would be sent into Hungary, Jaschinsky said, “ We shall now go and take Hungarian horses for ourselves.” Here the conversation ended, and I returned, little suspecting future consequences, to my tent.

I must, here, make the following observations:

1st. I had not observed the date of the letter, brought by the post-man, which, as I have said, was
 four

four months back: this, however, the colonel did not fail to remark.

2ndly. The probability is, that this was a net spread, for me, by this false and wicked man. The return of my horses, during the preceding campaign, had been the subject of much conversation. It is possible he had the King's orders to watch me; but, more probably, he only prevailed on me to write, that he might entrap me, by a fictitious answer. Certain it is, my cousin Trenck, at Vienna, affirmed, to his death, he never received any letter from me, consequently, never could send any answer. I must, therefore, conclude this letter was forged.

Jaschinsky was, at this time, one of the King's favourites; his spy over the army, a tale-bearer, an inventor of lies and wicked calumnies. Some years after the event of which I am now speaking, the King was obliged to break and banish him the country.

He was then, also, the paramour of the beauteous Madame Broffart, wife of the Saxon Resident at Berlin, and there can be little doubt but that this false letter was, by her means, conveyed to some Saxon or Austrian post-office, and thence, according to its address, sent to me. He had daily opportunities of infusing suspicions into the King's mind concerning me; and, unknown to me, pursuing his diabolical plan.

I must, likewise, add, he was four hundred ducats indebted to me; I always having a plentiful supply of money. This booty became his own, when I, unexamined, was arrested, and thrown into prison. In like manner, he seized on the greatest part of my camp equipage.

Further, we had quarrelled during our first campaign, because he had beaten one of my servants; we even were proceeding to fight with pistols, had not Colonel Winterfeld interfered, and amicably ended our quarrel. The Lithuanian is, by nature, obstinate

obstinate and revengeful; and, from that day, I have reason to believe he sought my destruction.

God only knows what were the means he took to excite the King's suspicions; for it is incredible that Frederic, considering his *well-known professions* of public justice, should treat me in the manner he did, without hearing, without examination, and without a court-martial. This, to me, has ever remained a mystery, which the King, alone, was able to explain: he, afterwards, was convinced I was innocent; but my sufferings had been too cruel, the miseries he had inflicted too horrible, for me ever to hope compensation.

In an affair of this nature, which will soon be known to all Europe, as it long has been in Prussia, the weakest is always guilty. I have been made a terrible example, to this our age, how true that maxim is in despotic states.

A man of my rank, having once unjustly suffered, and having the power of making his sufferings known, must either be highly rewarded, or still more unjustly punished. My name and injuries will ever stain the annals of Frederic *the Great*; even those who read this book will, perhaps, suppose I, from political motives of hope or fear, have, sometimes, concealed truth by endeavouring to palliate his conduct.

It must ever remain incomprehensible, that a monarch so clear sighted, himself the daily witness of my demeanor, one well acquainted with mankind, and conscious I wanted neither money, honour, nor hope of future preferment; I say it is incomprehensible he should, really, suppose me guilty. I take God to witness, and all those who knew me in prosperity or misfortune, I never harboured a thought of betraying my country. How was it possible to suspect me? I was neither mad man nor idiot. In my eighteenth year I was a cornet of the body-guard, adjutant to the King, and possessed his favour and confidence

confidence in the highest degree. His presents to me, in one year, amounted to fifteen hundred dollars. I kept seven horses, four men in livery; I was valued, distinguished, and beloved by the mistress of my soul. My relations held high offices, both civil and military: I was, even fanatically, devoted to my King and country, and had nothing to wish.

That I should become thus wretched, in consequence of this unfortunate letter, is equally wonderful: it came by the public post. Had there been any criminal correspondence, my kinsman, certainly, would not have chosen this mode of conveyance; since, it is well known, all such letters are opened; nor could I act more openly. My colonel read the letter I wrote, and, also, that which I received immediately after it was brought.

The day after the receipt of this letter I was, as I have before said, unheard, unaccused, unjudged, conducted, like a criminal, from the army, by fifty hussars, and imprisoned in the fortress of Glatz. I was allowed to take three horses, and my servants, but my whole equipage was left behind, which I never saw more, and which became the booty of Jaschinsky. My commission was given to Cornet Schatzel, and I cashiered, without knowing why. There were no legal enquiries made; all was done by the King's command.

Unhappy people! where power is superior to law, and where the innocent and virtuous, meet punishment instead of reward. Unhappy land! where the omnipotent SUCH IS OUR WILL supercedes all legal sentence, and robs the subject of property, life, and honour.

I once more repeat, I was brought to the citadel of Glatz: I was not, however, thrown into a dungeon, but imprisoned in a chamber of the officer of the

the guard; was allowed my servant to wait on me, and permitted to walk on the ramparts.

I did not want money, and there was only a detachment, from the garrison regiment, in the citadel of Glatz, the officers of which were all poor. I soon had both friends and freedom, and the rich prisoner, every day, kept open table.

He, only, who had known me in this ardour of my youth, who had witnessed how high I aspired, and the fortune that attended me at Berlin, can imagine what my feelings were, at finding myself thus suddenly cast from my high hopes.

I wrote, submissively, to the King, requesting to be tried by a court-martial, and not desiring any favour, should I be found guilty. This haughty tone, in a youth, was displeasing, and I received no answer, which threw me into despair, and induced me to use every possible means to obtain my liberty.

My first care was to establish, by the intervention of an officer, a certain correspondence with the object of my heart. She answered, she was far from supposing I had ever entertained the least thought traitorous to my country; that she knew, too well, I was perfectly incapable of dissimulation. She blamed the precipitate anger, and unjust suspicions, of the King; promised me speedy aid, and sent me a thousand ducats.

Had I, at this critical moment, possessed a prudent and intelligent friend, who could have calmed my impatience, nothing, perhaps, might have been more easy than to have obtained pardon of the King, by proving my innocence; or, perhaps, than to have induced him to punish my enemies.

But the officers, who then were at Glatz, fed the flame of discontent. They supposed the money I so freely distributed came all from Hungary, furnished by the Pandour chest; and advised me not
to

to suffer my freedom to depend upon the will of the King, but to enjoy it in his despite.

It was not more easy to give this advice, than to persuade a man to take it, who, till then, had never encountered any thing but good fortune, and who, consequently, supported this reverse with impatience. I was not yet, however, determined, because I could not yet resolve to abandon my country, and especially Berlin.

Five months soon passed away in prison: peace was concluded; the King was returned to his capital: my commission in the guards was bestowed on another, when Lieutenant Piaschky, of the regiment of Fouquet, and Ensign Reitz, who, often, mounted guard over me, proposed that they and I should escape together. I yielded, our plan was fixed, and every preparatory step taken.

At that time there was another prisoner at Glatz, whose name was Manget, by birth a Swiss, and captain of cavalry in the Natzmerschen hussars; he had been broken and condemned by a court-martial, to ten years imprisonment, with an allowance of only four rix-dollars per month.

Having done this man kindnesses, I was resolved to rescue him, also, from bondage, at the same time with myself. I communicated my design, and made the proposal, which was accepted by him, and measures were taken; yet were we betrayed by this vile man, who thus obtained pardon and freedom.

Piaschky, who had been informed that Reitz was arrested, saved himself by deserting. I denied the fact in presence of Manget, with whom I was confronted, and bribed the Auditor with a hundred ducats. By this means Reitz only suffered a year's imprisonment, and the loss of his commission. I was then closely confined in a chamber, for hav-
ing

ing endeavoured to corrupt the King's officers, and was guarded with greater caution.

Here I will interrupt my narrative, a moment, to relate an adventure which happened between me and this Captain Manget, three years afterwards, that is to say, in 1749, at Warsaw.

I there met him by chance, and it is not difficult to imagine what was the salutation he received. I caned him; he took this ill, and challenged me to fight with pistols. Captain Heucking, of the Polish guards, was my second: I shot him through the neck, at the first shot, and he fell dead on the field.

He alone, of all my enemies, ever died by my own hand; and he well merited his end, for his cowardly treachery towards the two brave fellows of whom I have spoken; and still more so with respect to myself, who had been his benefactor; and, I own, I have never reproached myself for this duel, by which I sent a rascal out of the world.

I return to my tale. My destiny, at Glatz, was now become more untoward and severe. The King's suspicions were increased, as likewise was his anger, at my late attempt to escape.

Left to myself, I considered my situation in the worst point of view, and determined either on flight or death. The length and closeness of my confinement became insupportable to my impatient temper.

I had always had the garrison on my side, nor was it possible to prevent my making friends among them. They knew I had money, and, in a poor garrison regiment, the officers of which are all dissatisfied, having, most of them, been drafted from other corps, and sent thither as a punishment, there was nothing that might not be undertaken.

My scheme, then was as follows:

My

My window looked toward the city, and was ninety feet from the ground in the tower of the citadel, out of which I could not get, without having found a place of refuge in the city.

This an officer undertook to procure me, and prevailed on an honest soap-boiler to grant me a hiding place. I, then, notched my penknife, and sawed through three large iron bars; but this was too tiresome a mode, it being necessary to file away eight bars from my window, before I could pass through: another officer procured me a file, which I was obliged to use with caution, lest I should be overheard by the centinels.

Having ended this labour, I cut my leather portmanteau into thongs, sewed them end to end, added the sheets of my bed, and descended, safely, from this astonishing height.

It rained, the night was dark, and all seemed fortunate, but I had to wade through moats full of mud, before I could enter the city, a circumstance I had never once considered. I sunk up to the knees, and, after long struggling, and incredible efforts to get out, I was obliged, myself, to call the centinel, and desire him to go and tell the governor, Trenck was stuck fast in a ditch.

My misfortune was the greater on this occasion, because that General Fouquet was then governor of Glatz. He was one of the cruellest of men. He had been wounded by my father in a duel; and the Austrian Trenck had taken his baggage in 1744, and also laid the country of Glatz under contribution. He was, therefore, an enemy to the very name of Trenck; nor did he lose any opportunity of giving me proofs of his enmity, and, especially, on the present occasion, when he left me standing in the mud till noon, the sport of the soldiers. I was then drawn out, half dead, only again to be imprisoned, and shut up the whole day, without water to wash me.

No

No one can imagine how I looked, exhausted and dirty, my long hair having fallen into the mud, with which, by my struggling, it was loaded. I remained in this condition till the next day, when two fellow prisoners were sent to assist and clean me.

My imprisonment, now, became more intolerable. I had, still, eighty louis-d'ors in my purse, which had not been taken from me at my removal into another dungeon, and these, afterward, did me good service.

The passions, now, all assailed me at once, and impetuous, boiling, youthful blood overpowered reason; hope disappeared; I thought myself the most unfortunate of men, and my King an irreconcilable judge, more wrathful and fortified in suspicion by my own rashness. My nights were sleepless, my days miserable: my soul was tortured by the desire of fame: a consciousness of innocence was a continued stimulus inciting me to end my misfortunes. Youth, unexperienced in woe and disastrous fate, beholds every evil magnified, and desponds on every new disappointment, more especially, having failed in attempting freedom. Education had taught me to despise death, and these opinions had been confirmed by my friend La Metrie, author of the famous work, *L'Homme Machine*, or Man a Machine.

I read much during my confinement at Glatz, where books were allowed me; time was, therefore, less tedious: but when the love of liberty awoke, when fame and affection called me to Berlin, and my balked hopes painted the wretchedness of my situation; when I remembered my loved country, judging by appearances, could not but pronounce me a traitor; then was I, hourly, impelled to rush on the naked bayonets of my guards, by whom, to me, the way of freedom was barred.

Big with such-like thoughts, eight days had not elapsed, since my last fruitless attempt to escape,
when

when an event happened which would appear incredible, were I, the principal actor in the scene, not alive to attest its truth, and might not all Glatz, and the Prussian army, be produced as eye and ear witnesses. This incident will prove that bold, and even rash, daring will render the most improbable undertakings possible, and that desperate attempts may, often, make a general more fortunate and famous than the wisest and best-concerted plans.

Major Doo* came to visit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard, and an adjutant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he addressed me, taxing me with a second crime in endeavouring to obtain my liberty; adding, this must, certainly, increase the anger of the King.

My blood boiled at the word crime: he talked of patience: I asked how long the King had condemned me to imprisonment: he answered, a traitor to his country, who has corresponded with the enemy, cannot be condemned for a certain time; but must depend, for grace, and pardon, on the King.

At that instant I snatched his sword from his side, on which my eyes had some time been fixed, sprang out of the door, threw the centinel from the top to the bottom of the stairs, passed the guard who happened to be drawn up before the prison door to relieve guard, attacked them sword in hand, threw them suddenly into surprise by the manner in which

* The same Doo who was governor of Glatz during the seven years war, and who, having been surprized by General Laudohn, was made prisoner, which occasioned the loss of Glatz. The King broke him with infamy, and banished him with contempt. In 1764, he came to Vienna, where I gave him alms. He was, by birth, an Italian, a selfish, wicked man; and, while major under the government of Fouquet, at Glatz, brought many people to misery. He was the creature of Fouquet, without birth or merit, crafty, malignant, but handsome; and, having debauched his patron's daughter, afterwards married her; whence, at first, his good, and, at length, his ill, fortune. He wanted knowledge to defend a fortress against the enemy, and his covetousness rendered him easy to corrupt.

I laid

I laid about me, wounded four men, made way through the rest, sprang over the breast-work of the ramparts, and, with my sword drawn in my hand, immediately leaped this astonishing height, without receiving the least injury. I leaped the second wall, with equal safety, and good fortune. None of their arms were loaded; no one durst leap after me, in order to pursue, they must go round through the town and the gate of the citadel; so that I had the start full half an hour.

A centinel, however, in a narrow passage, endeavoured to oppose my flight, but I parried his fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A second centinel, meantime, came from the outworks, to seize me behind, and I, to avoid him, made a spring at the pallisadoes; there I was unluckily caught by the foot, and received a bayonet wound in my upper lip: thus entangled, they beat me with the butt-end of their muskets, and dragged me back to prison, while I struggled and defended myself like a man grown desperate.

Certain it is, had I more carefully jumped the palisadoes, and dispatched the centinel who opposed me, I might have escaped, and gained the mountains. Thus might I have fled to Bohemia, after having, at noon day, broken from the fortress of Glatz, sprung past all its centinels, over all its walls, and passed with impunity, in despite of the guard, who were under arms, ready to oppose me. I should not, having a sword, have feared any single opponent, and was able to contend with the swiftest runners.

That good fortune, which had so far attended me, forsook me at the palisadoes, where hope was at an end. The severities of imprisonment were increased; two centinels and an under officer were locked in with me, and were, themselves, guarded by centinels without: I was beaten and wounded by
the

the butt-ends of their muskets, my right foot was sprained, I spit blood, and my wounds were not cured in less than a month.

I was, now, first, informed the King had only condemned me to a year's imprisonment, in order to learn whether his suspicions were well founded. My mother had petitioned for me, and was answered, Your son must remain a year imprisoned, as a punishment for his rash correspondence.

Of this I was ignorant, and it was said, in Glatz, my imprisonment was for life. I had only three weeks longer to repine at the loss of liberty, when I made this rash attempt. What must the King think? Was he not obliged to act with this severity? How could prudence excuse my impatience, thus to risk a confiscation, when I was certain of receiving freedom, justification, and honour, in three weeks? But, such was my adverse fate, circumstances all tended to injure and persecute me, till, at length, I gave reason to suppose I was a traitor, notwithstanding the purity of my intentions.

Once more, then, was I in a dungeon, and no sooner was I there, than I formed new projects of flight: I first gained the intimacy of my guards; I had money, and this, with the compassion I had inspired, might effect any thing among discontented Prussian soldiers. Soon had I gained thirty-two men, who were ready to execute, on the first signal, whatever I should command. Two or three excepted, they were unacquainted with each other; they, consequently, could not all be betrayed at a time; and I had chosen the under officer, Nicholai, to head them.

The garrison consisted only of one hundred and twenty men, from the garrison regiment, the rest being dispersed in the country of Glatz, and four officers, their commanders, three of whom were in my interest. Every thing was prepared; swords and

pistols were concealed in an oven, which was in my prison. We intended to give liberty to all the prisoners, and retire, by beat of drum, into Bohemia.

Unfortunately, an Austrian deserter, to whom Nicholai had imparted our design, went and discovered our conspiracy. The governor, instantly, sent his adjutant to the citadel, with orders that the officer on guard should arrest Nicholai, and, with his men, take possession of the casemate.

Nicholai was one of the guard, and the lieutenant was my friend, and, being in the secret, gave the signal that all was discovered. Nicholai, only, knew all the conspirators, several of whom were, that day, on guard. He, instantly, formed his resolution, leaped into the casemates, crying, "Comrades, to arms, we are betrayed!" All followed to the guard-house, where they seized on the cartridges, the officer having only eight men, and, threatening to fire on whoever would offer resistance, came to deliver me from prison; but the iron door was too strong, and the time too short, for that to be demolished. Nicholai, calling to me, bid me aid them, but in vain; and, perceiving nothing more could be done for me, this brave man, heading nineteen others, marched to the gate of the citadel, where there was an under-officer, and ten soldiers, obliged these to accompany him, and thus arrived, safely, at Braunau, in Bohemia; for, before the news was spread through the city, and men were collected for the pursuit, they were nearly half way on their journey.

Two years after, I met with this extraordinary man at Ofenbourg, where he was a writer: he entered, immediately, into my service, and became my friend, but died, some months after, of a burning fever, at my quarters in Hungary, at which I was deeply grieved, for his memory will ever be dear to me.

Now was I exposed to all the storms of ill fortune : a prosecution was entered against me as a conspirator, who wanted to corrupt the officers and foldiers of the King. They commanded me to name the remaining conspirators; but to these questions I made no answer, except by stedfastly declaring I was an innocent prisoner, an officer unjustly broken; unjustly, because I had never been brought to trial; that consequently I was released from all my engagements, nor could it be thought extraordinary that I should avail myself of that law of nature, which gives every man a right to defend his honour defamed, and seek, by every possible means, to regain his liberty: that such had been my sole purpose in every enterprise I had formed, and such should still continue to be, for I was determined on the pursuit, till I should either be crowned with success, or lose my life in the attempt.

Things thus remained; every precaution was taken, except that I was not put in irons; it being a law, in Prussia, that no gentleman, or officer, can be loaded with chains, unless he has, first, for some crime, been delivered over to the executioner, and, certainly, this had not been my case.

The soldiers were withdrawn from my chamber; but the greatest ill was I had expended all my money, and my kind mistress, at Berlin, with whom I had always corresponded, and which my persecutors could not prevent, at last wrote——

“ My tears flow with yours; the evil is without
 “ remedy—I dare say no more—escape if you can.
 “ My fidelity will ever be the same, when it shall
 “ be possible for me to serve you.—Adieu—un-
 “ happy friend: you merit a better fate.”

This letter was a thunderbolt:—my comfort, however, still was, that the officers were not suspected, and that it was their duty to visit my chamber
 several

several times a day, and examine what passed; from which circumstance I felt my hopes somewhat revive. Hence, an adventure happened, which is almost unexampled in tales of knight-errantry.

A lieutenant, whose name was Bach, a Dane by nation, mounted guard every fourth day, and was the terror of the whole garrison; for, being a perfect master of arms, he was incessantly involved in quarrels, and generally left his marks behind him. He had served in two regiments, neither of which would associate with him for this reason, and he had been sent to the garrison regiment at Glatz, as a punishment.

Bach one day sitting beside me, related how, the evening before, he had wounded a lieutenant, of the name of Schell, in the arm. I replied, laughing, had I my liberty, I believe you would find some trouble in wounding me, for I have some skill in the sword. The blood instantly flew in his face; we split off a kind of pair of foils from an old door, which had served me as a table, and, at the first lunge, I hit him on the breast.

His rage became ungovernable, and he left the prison. What was my astonishment, when, a moment after, I saw him return, with two soldiers' swords, which he had concealed under his coat. "Now then, boaster, prove," said he, giving me one of them, "what thou art able to do." I endeavoured to pacify him, by representing the danger, but ineffectually. He attacked me with the utmost fury, and I wounded him in the arm.

Throwing his sword down, he now fell upon my neck, kissed me, and wept. At length, after some convulsive emotions of pleasure, he said, "Friend, thou art my master; and thou must, thou shalt, by my aid, obtain thy liberty, as certainly as my name is Bach." We bound up his arm as well as we could. He left me, and secretly went

to a surgeon, to have it properly dressed, and at night returned.

He now remarked that it was humanly impossible I should escape, unless the officer on guard should desert with me; that he wished nothing more ardently than to sacrifice his life in my behalf, but that he could not resolve so far to forget his honour and duty to desert, himself, while on guard: he, notwithstanding, gave me his word and honour he would find me such a person in a few days; and that, in the mean time, he would prepare every thing for my flight.

He returned the same evening, bringing with him Lieutenant Schell, and, as he entered, said, "Here is your man." Schell embraced me, gave his word of honour, and thus was the affair settled, and, as it proved, my liberty ascertained.

We now began to deliberate on the means necessary to obtain our purpose. Schell was just come from garrison at Habelschwert, to the citadel of Glatz, and in two days was to mount guard over me, till when, our attempt was suspended. I have before said, I received no more supplies from my beloved mistress, and my purse, at present, only contained some six pistoles. It was, therefore, resolved that Bach should go to Schweidnitz, and obtain money of a sure friend of mine in that city.

Here I must inform the reader that, at this time, the officers and I, all, understood each other, Captain Roder alone excepted, who was exact, rigid, and gave trouble on all occasions.*

Major Quaadt was my kinsman, by my mother's side, a good friendly man, and ardently desirous I should escape, seeing my calamities were now so

* I shall give a farther account, in my Narrative, of this man, which will both astonish and instruct the reader.

much increased. The four lieutenants, who successively mounted guard over me, were Bach, Schroeder, Lunitz, and Schell. The first was the grand projector, and made all the preparations; Schell was to desert with me; and Schroeder and Lunitz, three days after, were to follow.

No one ought to be surprised that officers of garrison regiments should be so ready to desert. They are, in general, men of violent passions, quarrelsome, overwhelmed with debts, or unfit for service. They are, generally, sent to garrison, as a punishment, and are called the refuse of the army. Dissatisfied with their situation, their pay much reduced, and despised by the troops, such men, expecting advantage, may be brought to engage in the most desperate undertaking. None of them can hope for their discharge, and they live in the utmost poverty. They all hoped, by my means to better their fortune; I always had money enough; and, with money, nothing is more easy than to find friends, in places where each individual is desirous of escaping from slavery.

The talents of Schell were of a superior order; he spoke and wrote six languages, and was well-acquainted with all the fine arts. He had served in the regiment of Fouquet; had been injured by his colonel, who was a Pomeranian, and Fouquet, who was no friend to well-informed officers, had sent him to a garrison regiment. He had, twice, demanded his dismissal, but the King sent him to this species of imprisonment; he then determined to avenge himself by deserting, and was ready to aid me in recovering my freedom, that he might thereby spite Fouquet.

I shall speak more, hereafter, of this extraordinary man, that I may not, in this place, interrupt my story.—We determined every thing should be prepared

prepared against the first time Schell mounted guard, and that our project should be executed on the next. Thus, as he mounted guard every four days, the eighth was to be that of our flight.

The governor, meantime, had been informed how familiar I was become with the officers, at which, taking offence, he sent orders that my door should no more be opened, but that I should receive my food through a small window that had been made for that purpose. The care of the prison was committed to the major, and he was forbidden to eat with me, under pain of being broken.

His precautions were ineffectual; the officers procured a false key, and remained with me half the day and night.

Beside my prison was that of Captain Damnitz. This man had deserted from the Prussian service, with the men belonging to his company, to Austria, where he obtained a commission in his cousin's regiment, who having prevailed on him to serve as a spy, during the campaign of 1744, he was taken in the Prussian territories, known, and condemned to be hanged.

Some Swedish volunteers, who were then in the army, interested themselves in his behalf, and his sentence was changed to perpetual imprisonment, with a sentence of infamy.

This wretch, who two years after, by his protectors, not only obtained his liberty but a lieutenant-colonel's commission, was, then, the secret spy of the major over the prisoners; and he remarked that, notwithstanding the express prohibition laid on the officers, they still passed the greater part of their time in my company.

The 24th of December came, and Schell mounted guard. He entered my prison, immediately, where he continued a long time, and we made our arrangements for flight when he next should mount guard.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Schroeder, that day, dined with the governor, and heard orders given to the adjutant that Schell should be taken from the guard, and put under arrest.

Schroeder, who was in the secret, had no doubt but that we were betrayed, not knowing that the spy Damnitz had informed the governor, that Schell was then in my chamber.

Schroeder, full of terror, came running to the citadel, and said to Schell, "Save thyself, friend; all is discovered, and thou wilt instantly be put under arrest."

Schell might easily, have provided for his own safety, by flying singly, Schroeder having prepared horses, on one of which he himself offered to accompany him into Bohemia.

How did this worthy man, in a moment so dangerous, act towards his friend?

Running suddenly into my prison, he drew a corporal's sabre from under his coat, and said,—
"Friend, we are betrayed, follow me, only do not suffer me to fall alive into the hands of my enemies."

I would have spoken, but, interrupting me, and taking me by the hand, he added, "Follow me, we have not a moment to lose." I therefore, slipped on my coat and boots, without having time to take the little money I had left; and, as we went out of the prison, Schell said to the centinel,—
"I am taking the prisoner into the officer's apartment; stand where you are."

Into this room we really went, but passed out at the other door. The design of Schell was to go under the Arsenal, which was not far off, to gain the covered way, leap the palisadoes, and afterwards escape the best we might.

We had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we met the Adjutant and Major Quaadt.

Schell

Schell started back, sprang upon the rampart, and leaped from the wall, which was there, not very high. I followed, and lighted unhurt, except having grazed my shoulder. My poor friend was not so fortunate, having put out his ankle. He immediately drew his sword, presented it to me, and begged me to dispatch him, and fly. He was a small weak man: but, far from complying with his request, I took him in my arms, threw him over the palisades, afterwards got him on my back, and began to run, without very well knowing which way I went.

It may not be unnecessary to remark those fortunate circumstances that favoured our enterprise.

The sun had just set as we took to flight; the hoar frost fell. No one would run the same risk we had done, by making so dangerous a leap. We heard a terrible noise behind us. Every body knew us; but before they could go round the citadel, and through the town, in order to pursue us, we had got full half a league.

The alarm guns were fired before we were a hundred paces distant; at which my friend was very much terrified; knowing that in such cases, it was generally, impossible to escape from Glatz, unless the fugitives had got the start full two hours before the alarm guns were fired; the passes being immediately all stopped by the peasants and hussars, who are exceedingly vigilant. No sooner is a prisoner missed than the gunner runs from the guard-house, and fires the cannon on the three sides of the fortress, which are kept loaded day and night, for that purpose.

We were not five hundred paces from the walls, when all, before us and behind us, were in motion. It was day-light when we leaped, yet was our attempt as fortunate as it was wonderful: this I attribute to my presence of mind, and the reputation had

I had already acquired, which made it thought a service of danger for two or three men to attack me.

It was, beside, imagined we were well provided with arms for our defence; and it was little suspected that Schell had only his sword, and I an old corporal's sabre.

Among the officers commanded to pursue us was Lieutenant Bart, my intimate friend.—Captain Zerbst, of the regiment of Fouquet, who had always testified the kindness of a brother towards me, met us on the Bohemian frontiers, and called to me, Make to the left, brother, and you will see some lone houses, which are on the Bohemian confines: the hussars have rode straight forward. He then passed on, as if he had not seen us.

We had nothing to fear from the officers, for the intimacy in the Prussian army was, at that time, so great, and the word of honour so sacred, that, during my rigorous detention at Glatz, I had been, once, six and thirty hours hunting at Neurode, at the seat of the Baron Stillfriede: Lunitz had taken my place in the prison, which the major knew when he came to make his visit. Hence may be gathered how great was the confidence in which the word of the unfortunate Trenck was held at Glatz;—since they did not fear letting him leave his dungeon, and hunt on the very confines of Bohemia. This shews the governor was deceived, in despite of his watchfulness and orders, and that a man of honour, with money, and a good head and heart, will never want friends.

These my memoirs will be the picture of what the national character then was; and will prove that, with officers who lived like brothers, and held their words so sacred, the great Frederic well might vanquish his enemies.

Arbitrary

Arbitrary power has now introduced the whip of slavery, and the mechanic subordination has eradicated these noble and rational incitements to concord and honour. Instead of these, mistrust and slavish fear have arisen, the enthusiastic spirit of the Brandenburg warrior declines, and into this error have most of the other European states fallen.

Scarcely had I borne my friend three hundred paces before I sat him down, and looked round me, but darkness came on so fast that I could see neither town nor citadel; consequently, we ourselves could not be seen.

My presence of mind did not forsake me: death, or freedom, was my determination. Where are we, Schell? said I to my friend. Where does Bohemia lie? On which side is the river Neiss? The worthy man could make no answer: his mind was all confusion, and he despaired of our escape: he still, however, entreated I would not let him be taken alive, and affirmed my labour was all in vain.

After having promised, by all that was sacred, I would save him from an infamous death, if no other means were left, and thus raised his spirits, he looked round, and knew, by some trees, we were not far from the city gates. I asked him, Where is the Neiss? He pointed sideways—"All Glatz has seen us fly towards the Bohemian mountains; it is impossible we should avoid the hussars, the passes being all guarded, and we beset with enemies." So saying, I took him on my shoulders, and carried him to the Neiss: here we, distinctly, heard the alarm sounded in the villages, and the peasants, who, likewise, were to form the line of desertion, were, every where in motion, and spreading the alarm. As it may not be known to all my readers in what manner they proceed, on these occasions, in Prussia, I will, here, give a short account of it.

Officers

Officers are daily named, on the parade, whose duty it is to follow fugitives, as soon as the alarm guns are fired.

The peasants in the villages, likewise, are daily appointed to run to the guard of certain posts. The officers immediately fly to these posts, to see that the peasants do their duty, and prevent the prisoner's escape. Thus does it seldom happen that a soldier can effect his escape, unless he be, at the very least, an hour on his road before the alarm guns are fired.

I now return to my story.

I came to the Neiss, which was a little frozen, entered it, with my friend, and carried him as long as I could wade, and when I could not feel the bottom, which was not for more than eighteen feet, he clung round me, and, thus, we got safely, to the other shore.

My father taught all his sons to swim, for which I have often had to thank him; since, by means of this art, which is easily learnt in childhood, I had, on various occasions, preserved my life, and was more bold in danger. Princes, who wish to make their subjects soldiers, should have them educated so as to fear neither fire or water. How great would be the advantage of being able to cross, with whole battalions, when it is necessary to attack, or retreat before the enemy, and time will not permit to prepare bridges!

The reader will easily suppose swimming in the midst of December, and remaining, afterwards, eighteen hours in the open air, was a severe hardship. About seven o'clock the hoar fog was succeeded by frost and moon-light. The carrying of my friend kept me warm, it is true, but I began to be tired, while he suffered every thing that frost, the pain of a dislocated foot, which I, in vain, endeavoured

deavoured to reset, and the danger of death from a thousand hands, could inflict.

We were somewhat more tranquil, however, having reached the opposite shore of the Neiss, since no body would pursue us on the road to Silesia. I followed the course of the river for half an hour, and, having once passed the first villages that formed the line of desertion, with which Schell was perfectly acquainted, we, in a lucky moment, found a fisherman's boat moored to the shore : into this we leaped, crossed the river again, and soon gained the mountains.

Here being come, we sat ourselves down awhile on the snow ; hope revived in our hearts, and we held council concerning how it was best to act. I cut a stick to assist Schell in hopping forward, as well as he could, when I was tired of carrying him ; and thus we continued our route, the difficulties of which were increased by the mountain snows.

Thus passed the night, during which, up to the middle in snow, we made but little way. There were no paths to be traced in the mountains, and they were, in many places, impassable. Day, at length, appeared : we thought ourselves near the frontiers, which are twenty English miles from Glatz, when we, suddenly, to our great terror, heard the clock strike.

Overwhelmed, as we were, by hunger, cold, fatigue, and pain, it was impossible we should hold out through the day. After some consideration, and another half hour's labour, we came to a village, at the foot of the mountain, on the side of which, about three hundred paces from us, we perceived two separate houses, which inspired us with a stratagem, that was successful.

We lost our hats, in leaping the ramparts ; but Schell had preserved his scarf and gorget, which would give him authority among the peasants.

I the n

I then cut my finger, rubbed the blood over my face, my shirt, and my coat, and bound up my head, to give me the appearance of a man dangerously wounded.

In this condition I carried Schell to the end of the wood not far from these houses; here he tied my hands behind my back, but so that I could, easily, disengage them in case of need; and hobbled after me, by aid of his staff, calling for help.

Two old peasants appeared, and Schell commanded them to run to the village, tell a magistrate to come immediately with a cart. "I have seized this knave," added he, "who has killed my horse, and in the struggle, put out my ankle; however, I have wounded and bound him; fly quickly, bring a cart, lest he should die before he is hanged."

As for me, I suffered myself to be led, as if half dead, into the house. A peasant was dispatched to the village. An old woman, and a pretty girl, seemed to take great pity on me, and gave me some bread and milk: but how great was our astonishment when the aged peasant called Schell by his name, and told him he well knew we were deserters, having the night before, been at a neighbouring alehouse, where the officer in pursuit of us came, named and described us, and related the whole history of our flight. The peasant knew Schell, because his son served in his company, and had often spoken of him when he was quartered at Habelschwert.

Presence of mind, and resolution, was all that were now left. I, instantly, ran to the stable, while Schell detained the peasant in the chamber. He, however, was a worthy man, and directed him the road towards Bohemia. We were, still, but about some seven miles from Glatz, having lost ourselves among the mountains, where we had wandered

many miles. The daughter followed me: I found three horses in the stable, but no bridles. I conjured her in the most passionate manner, to assist me: she was affected, seemed half willing to follow me, and gave me the two bridles. I led the horses to the door, called Schell, and helped him, with his lame leg, on horseback. The old peasant, then, began to weep, and beg I would not take his horses; but he, luckily, wanted courage, and, perhaps, the will to impede us: for, with a single dung-fork, in our then feeble condition, he might have stopped us long enough to have called in assistance from the village.

And, now, behold us on horseback, without hats or saddles; Schell with his uniform scarf and gorget, and I in my red body guard coat. Still were we in danger of seeing all our hopes vanish, for my horse would not stir from the stable: however, at last, good horseman like, I made him move: Schell led the way, and we had scarcely gone a hundred paces before we perceived the peasants coming, in crowds, from the village.

As kind fortune would have it, the people were all at church, it being a festival: the peasants Schell had sent were obliged to call aid out of church. It was but nine in the morning; and, had the peasants been at home, we had been lost without hope.

We were obliged to take the road to Wunshelburg, and pass through the town where Schell had been quartered a month before, and every body knew him. Our dress, without hats or saddles, sufficiently proclaimed we were deserters: our horses, however, continued to go tolerably well, and we had the good luck to get through the town; although there was a garrison of one hundred and eighty infantry, and twelve horse, purposely to arrest deserters. Schell knew the road to Brummen, where we arrived at eleven o'clock, after having met, as I before mentioned, Captain Zerbst.

He,

He, alone, who has been in the same situation, can imagine, though he never can describe, all the joy we felt. An innocent man, languishing in a dungeon, who, by his own endeavours, has broken his chains, and regained his liberty, in despite of all the arbitrary power of princes who, vainly, would oppose him, conceives, in moments like these, such abhorrence of all despotism, that I could not well comprehend how I ever could resolve to live under governments where wealth, content, honour, liberty, and life, all, depend upon a master's will, and who, were his intentions the most pure, could not be able, singly, to do justice to a whole nation.

Never did I, during life, feel pleasure more exquisite than at this moment. My friend, for me, had risked a shameful death, and, now, after having carried him at least twelve hours on my shoulders, I had saved both him and myself. We, certainly, would not have suffered any man to carry us, alive, again to Glatz. Yet this was but the first act of the tragedy of which I was doomed to be the hero, the mournful incidents of which, all, arose out of, and depended on each other.

Could I have read the book of fate, and have seen the forty years fearful afflictions that were to follow, I, certainly, should not have rejoiced at this my escape from Glatz. One year's patience might have appeased the irritated monarch, and, taking a retrospect of all that has passed, I, now, find it would have been a fortunate circumstance, had the good and faithful Schell and I never met, since he, also, fell into a train of misfortunes, which I shall hereafter relate, and from which he could never extricate himself, but by death. The sufferings, which I have since undergone, will be read with astonishment.

It is my consolation that the laws of honour and nature, both, justify the action. I may serve as an example of the fortitude with which danger ought

to be encountered, and shew monarchs that, in Germany, as well as in Rome, there are men who refuse to crouch beneath the yoke of despotism, and that philosophy and resolution are stronger than even those lords of slaves, with all their threats, whips, tortures, and instruments of death.

In Prussia, where my sufferings might have made me supposed the worst of traitors, is my innocence universally acknowledged; and, instead of contempt, there I have gained the love of the whole nation, which is the best compensation for having persevered in the virtuous principles taught me in my youth, persecuted, as I have been, by envy, and malicious power. I have not further time to moralize; the numerous incidents of my life would, otherwise, swell these volumes to too great an extent.

Thus, in freedom, at Braunau, on the Bohemian frontiers, I sent the two horses, with the corporal's sword, back to General Fouquet, at Glatz. The letter accompanying them was so pleasing to him, that all the centinels, before my prison door, as well as the guard under arms, and all those we passed, were obliged to run the gauntlet, although, the very day before, he had, himself, declared my escape was now rendered impossible. He, however, was deceived; and thus do the mean revenge themselves on the miserable, and the tyrant on the innocent.

And now, for the first time, did I quit my country, and fly, like Joseph from the pit into which his false brethren had cast him: and, in this the present moment of joy for my escape, the loss even of friends and country appeared, to me, the excess of good fortune.

The estates which had been purchased by the blood of my forefathers were confiscated; and thus was a youth, of one of the noblest families in the land, whose heart was all zeal for the service of his king and country, and who was among those most capable

ble to render them service, banished, by this unjust and misled King, and treated like the worst of miscreants, malefactors, and traitors.

I wrote to the King, and sent him a true state of my case; sent indubitable proofs of my innocence, and supplicated justice, but received no answer.

In this the monarch may be justified, at least in my apprehension. A wicked man had maliciously and falsely accused me; Colonel Jaschinsky had made him suspect me for a traitor, and it was impossible he should read my heart. The first act of injustice had been hastily committed; I had been condemned unheard, unjudged, and the injustice that had been done me was known too late; Frederic *the Great* found he was not infallible. Pardon I would not ask, for I had committed no offence; and the King would not, probably, own, by a reverse of conduct, he had been guilty of injustice. My resolution increased his obstinacy; but, in the discussion of the cause, our power was very unequal.

The monarch once really loved me; he meant my punishment should only be temporary, and as a trial of my fidelity. That I had only been condemned to a year's imprisonment had never been told me, and was a fact I did not learn till long after.

Major Doo, who, as I have said, was the creature of Fouquet, a mean and covetous man, knowing I had money, had always acted the part of a protector, as he pretended to me, and continually told me I was condemned for life. He perpetually turned the conversation on the great credit of his general with the King, and his own great credit with the general. For the present of a horse, on which I rode to Glatz, he gave me the freedom of walking about the fortress; and for another, worth a hundred ducats, I rescued Ensign Reitz from death, who had been betrayed, when endeavouring to effect our escape. I have been assured that, on that very day on

which I snatched his sword from his side, desperately passed through the garrison, and leaped the walls of the rampart, he was expressly come to tell me, after some prefatory threats, that, by his general's intercession, my punishment was only to be a year's imprisonment, and that, consequently, I should be released in a few days.

How vile were means like these, to wrest money from the unfortunate! The King, after this my mad flight certainly, was never informed of the major's base cunning; he could only be told that rather than wait a few days, I had chosen, in this desperate manner, to make my escape, and go over to the enemy.

Thus deceived, and strengthened in his suspicions, must he not imagine my desire to forsake my country, and go over to the enemy, was unbounded? How could he do otherwise than imprison a subject, who thus endeavoured to injure him, and aid his foes? Thus, by the calumnies of wicked men, did my cruel destiny daily become more severe; and, at length, render the deceived monarch irreconcilable and cruel.

Yet how could it be supposed that I would not willingly have remained three weeks longer in prison, to have been honourably restored to liberty; to have prevented the confiscation of my estate; and to have once more returned to my loved mistress at Berlin?

And now was I, in Bohemia, a fugitive stranger, without money, protector, or friend, and only twenty years of age.

In the campaign of 1744, I had been quartered at Braunau, with a weaver, whom I advised and assisted to bury his effects, and preserve them from being plundered. The worthy man received us with joy and gratitude. I had lived in this same house, but two years before, as absolutely master of him and his fate. I had, then, nine horses and five servants, with the highest and most favourable hopes of futurity :

city: but now I came a fugitive, seeking protection, and having lost all a youth like me had to lose.

I had but a single louis d'or in my purse, and Schell forty kreutzers, or some three shillings: with this small sum, in a strange country, we had to cure his sprain, and provide for all our wants.

I was determined not to go to my cousin Trenck, at Vienna, fearful this should seem a justification of all my imputed treasons; I rather wished to embark for the East Indies, than to have recourse to this expedient. The greater my delicacy was, the greater became my distress. I wrote to my mistress at Berlin, but received no answer; possibly, because I could not indicate any certain mode of conveyance. My mother believed me guilty, and abandoned me; my brothers were still minors, and my friend, at Schweidnitz, could not aid me, being gone to Königsberg.

After three weeks abode at Braunau, my friend recovered of his lameness. We had been obliged to sell my watch, with his scarf, and gorget, and had only four florins remaining.

From the public papers I learnt, my cousin, the Austrian Trenck, was, at this time, closely confined, and under criminal prosecution. It will easily be imagined what effect this news had upon me.

Never, till now, had I felt any inconvenience from poverty; my wants had all been amply supplied, and I had ever lived among, and been highly loved and esteemed by, the first people of the land. I was now destitute, without aid, and undetermined how to seek employment, or obtain fame.

At length I determined to travel, on foot, to Prussia, to my mother, and obtain money from her, and afterward enter into the Russian service. Schell, whose destiny was linked to mine, would not forsake me. We assumed false names: I called myself Knert, and Schell, Lesh; then, obtaining passports, like common deserters, we left Braunau on the 21st

of January, in the evening, unseen of any person, and proceeded towards Bilitz, in Poland. A friend I had at Neurode gave me a pair of pocket pistols, a musket, and three ducats: the money was spent at Braunau. Here let me take occasion to remark, I had lent this friend, in urgent necessity, a hundred ducats, which he still owed me; and, when I sent to request payment, he returned me three, as if I had asked charity.

Though a circumstantial description of our travels would alone fill a volume, I shall only relate the most singular accidents which happened to us; I shall also insert the journal of my route, which my friend Schell had preserved, and gave me, in 1776, when he came to see me at Aix-la-Chapelle, after an absence of thirty years.

This may be called the first scene in which I appeared as an adventurer, and, perhaps, my good fortune may even have overbalanced the bad, since I have escaped death full thirty times, when the chances were, at least, a hundred to one against me: certain it is, I undertook many things, in which I seemed to have owed my preservation to the very rashness of the action, and in which others, equally brave, would have found death.

J O U R N A L

Of travels on foot, from Braunau, in Bohemia, through Bilitz, in Poland, to Meseritz; and from Meseritz, by Thorn, to Elbing; in the whole 169 miles, performed without begging or stealing.*

Jan. 18, 1747. From Braunau, by Politz, to Nachod, three miles, we having three florins, forty-five kreutzers in our purse.

* The German mile contains from four to seven English miles, and this variation appears to depend upon the ignorance of the people, and on the roads being in some places but little frequented. It seems probable, the Baron and his friend might travel about 800 English miles. T.

Jan.

Jan. 19. To Neustadt. Here Schell bartered his uniform for an old coat; and a Jew gave him two florins fifteen kreutzers in exchange; from hence we went to Reichenau; in all three miles.

Jan. 20. We went to Leutomischel, five miles. Here I bought a loaf hot out of the oven, which, eating greedingly, had nearly caused my death. This obliged us to rest a day, and the extravagant charge of the landlord almost emptied our purse.

Jan. 22. From Tribau to Zwitterau, in Moravia, four miles.

Jan. 23. To Sternberg, six miles. This day's journey excessively fatigued poor Schell; his sprained ankle being still extremely weak.

Jan. 24. To Leibnitz, four miles; in a deep snow, and with empty stomachs. Here I sold my stock-buckle for four florins.

Jan. 25. To Fryberg, by Weiskirch, to Drachentusch, five miles. Early in the morning we found a violin and case on the road; the innkeeper in Weiskirch gave us two florins for it, on condition that he should return it to the owner, on proving his right, it being worth, at least, twenty.

Jan. 26. To Freideck, in Upper Silesia, two miles.

Jan. 27. To a village, four miles and a half.

Feb. 28. Through Scotscha, to Bilitz, three miles. This was the last Austrian town on the frontiers of Poland; and Captain Capi, of the regiment of Marischall, who commanded the garrison, demanded our passports. We had false names, and called ourselves common Prussian deserters; but a drummer, who had deserted from Glatz, knew us, and betrayed us to the captain, who, immediately, arrested us very rudely, and sent us, on foot, to Teschin, refusing us a hearing, four miles distant.

Here we found Lieutenant Colonel Baron Schwarzer, a perfectly worthy man, who was highly interested

rested in our behalf, and who blamed the irregular arbitrary conduct of Captain Capi. I frankly related my adventures, and he used every possible argument to persuade me, instead of continuing my journey through Poland, to go to Vienna; but in vain; my good genius, this time, preserved me; would to God it had ever! How many miseries had I then avoided, and how easily might I have escaped the snares spread for me by the powerful, who have seized on my property, and, in order to secure it, have, hitherto, rendered me useless to the state, by depriving me of all post or employment.

I returned, therefore, a second time, to Bilitz, travelling these four miles once more. Schwarzer lent us his own horse, and four ducats, which I have, since, repaid, but which I shall never forget, as they were of signal service to me, and procured me a pair of new boots.

Irritated against Captain Capi, we passed through Bilitz, without stopping, went, immediately, to Biala, the first town in Poland, and, from thence, I sent Capi a challenge to fight me, with sword or pistol, but received no answer; and his non-appearance has ever confirmed him in my opinion a rascal.

And, here, suffer me to take a retrospective view of what was then my situation. By the orders of Capi, I was sent prisoner as a contemptible common deserter, and was unable to call him to account. In Poland, indeed, I had that power, but was despised as a vagabond, because of my poverty. What, alas! are the advantages which the love of honour, science, courage, or desire of fame can bestow, wanting the means that should introduce us to, and bid us walk erect in presence of, our equals? Youth, depressed by poverty, is robbed of the society of those who best can afford example and instruction. I had lived familiar with the great; men of genius had formed and enlightened me; I had been enumerated among
the

the favourites of a court; and now was a stranger, unknown, unesteemed, nay, contemned, obliged to endure the extremes of cold, hunger, and thirst; to wander many a weary mile, suffering both in body and mind, while every step led me farther from her whom most I loved, and dearest; yet had I no fixed plan, no certain knowledge in what these my labours and sufferings should end.

I was too proud to discover myself; but, indeed, to whom could I discover myself in a strange land? My name might have availed me in Austria; but in Austria, where this name was known, would I not remain; rather than seek my fortune there, I was determined to shun whatever might tend to render me suspicious in the eyes of my country. How liable was a temper, so ardent as mine, in the midst of difficulties, fatigues, and disappointments, hard to endure, to betray me in all those errors of which rash youth, unaccustomed to hardship, impatient of contrariety, are so often guilty! But I had taken my resolution, and my faithful Schell, to whom hunger or ease, contempt or fame, for my sake, were become indifferent, did whatever I desired.

Once more to my journal.

Feb. 1. We proceeded four miles from Biala to Oswintzin, I having determined to ask aid from my sister, who had married Waldow, and lived, much at her ease, at a fine estate at Hammer in Brandenburg, between Landsberg on the Warta and Meseritz, a frontier town of Poland. For this reason we continued our route all along the Silesian confines to Meseritz.

Feb. 2. To Bobrek and Elkusch, five miles. We suffered much this day, because of the snow, and that the lightness of our dress was ill suited to such severe weather. Schell, negligently, lost our purse, in which were nine florins. I had still, however, nineteen grosch in my pocket (about half a crown).

Feb.

Feb. 3. To Crumelow, three miles; and

Feb. 4. To Wladowiegud Joreck, three miles more; and from thence, on,

Feb. 5. To Czenstochowa, where there is a magnificent convent, concerning which, had I room, I might write many remarkable things, much to the disgrace of its inhabitants.

We slept at an inn kept by a very worthy man, whose name was Lazar. He had been a lieutenant in the Austrian service, where he had suffered much, and was now become a poor innkeeper in Poland. We had not a penny in our purse, and requested a bit of bread. The generous man had compassion on us, and desired us to sit down, and eat with himself. I, then, told him who we were, and trusted him with the motives of our journey. Scarcely had we supped, before a carriage arrived, with three people. They had their own horses, a servant, and a coachman.

This is a remarkable incident, and I must relate it circumstantially, though as briefly as possible.

We had, before, met this carriage at Elkusch, and one of these people had asked Schell where we were going; he had replied, to Czenstochowa: we, therefore, had not the least suspicion of them, notwithstanding the danger we ran.

They lay at the inn, saluted us, but with indifference, not seeming to notice us, and spoke little. We had not been long in bed before our host came to awaken us, and told us, with surprise, these pretended merchants were sent to arrest us from Prussia; that they had offered, first, fifty, afterwards, a hundred ducats, if he would permit them to take us in his house, and carry us into Silesia; that he had, firmly, rejected the proposal, though they had increased their promises; and that, at last, they had given him six ducats to engage his silence.

We

We clearly saw these were an officer and under-officers sent by General Fouquet, to recover us. We conjectured by what means they had discovered our route, and imagined the information they had received could only come from one Lieutenant Molinie, of the garrison of Habelschwert, who had come to visit Schell, as a friend, during our stay at Braunau. He had remained with us two days, and had asked many questions concerning the road we should take, and he was the only one who knew it. He was, probably, the spy of Fouquet, and the cause of what happened afterwards, which, however, ended in the defeat of our enemies.

The moment I heard of this infamous treachery, I was for entering, with my pistols primed, into the enemy's chamber, but was prevented by Schell and Lazar: the latter entreated me, in the strongest manner, to remain at his house till I should receive a supply from my mother, that I might be enabled to continue my journey with more ease and less danger: but his entreaties were ineffectual, I was determined to see her, uncertain as I was of what effect my letter had produced. Lazar assured me we should, most infallibly, be attacked on the road. "So much the better, retorted I; that will give me
 " an opportunity of dispatching them, sending them
 " to the other world, and shooting them as I would
 " highwaymen." They departed at break of day, and took the road to Warsaw.

We would have been gone, likewise, but Lazar, in some sort, forcibly detained us, and gave us the six ducats he had received from the Prussians, with which we bought us each a shirt, another pair of pocket pistols, and other urgent necessities; then took an affectionate leave of our host, who directed us on our way, and we testified our gratitude for the great services done us.

Feb.

Feb. 6. From Czenstochowa to Dankow, two miles. Here we expected an attack. Lazar had told us our enemies had only one musket; I, also, had a musket, and an excellent sabre, and each of us was provided with a pair of pistols. They knew not we were so well armed, which, perhaps, was the cause of their panic, when they came to engage.

Feb. 7. We took the road to Parsemechi: we had not been an hour on the road before we saw a carriage: as we drew near, we knew it to be that of our enemies, who pretended it was set in the snow. They were round it, and, when they saw us approach, began to call for help. This, we guessed, was an artifice to entrap us. Schell was not strong; they would all have fallen upon me, and we should easily have been carried off, for they wanted to take us alive.

We left the causeway about thirty paces, answering, "we had not time to give them help;" at which they all ran to their carriage, drew out their pistols, and, returning full speed after us, called, Stop, rascals! We began to run, but I, suddenly turning round, presented my piece, and shot the nearest dead on the spot. Schell fired his pistols; our opposers did the same, and Schell received a ball in the neck at this discharge. It was now my turn; I took out my pistols, one of the assailants fled, and I, enraged, pursued him three hundred paces, overtook him, and, as he was defending himself with his sword, perceiving he bled, and made a feeble resistance, pressed upon him, and gave him a stroke that brought him down. I, instantly, returned to Schell, whom I found in the power of two others that were dragging him towards the carriage, but, when they saw me at their heels, they fled over the fields. The coachman, perceiv-
ing

ing which way the battle went, leaped on his box, and drove off full speed.

Schell, though delivered, was wounded with a ball in the neck, and by a cut in the right hand, which had made him drop his sword, though he affirmed he had run one of his adversaries through.

I took a silver watch from the man I had killed, and was going to make free with his purse, when Schell called, and showed me a coach and six coming down a hill. To stay would have exposed us to have been imprisoned as highwaymen; for the two fugitives, who had escaped us, would certainly have borne witness against us. Safety only could be found in flight. I, however, seized the musket and hat of him I had first killed, and we then gained the copse, and, after that, the forest. The road was round about, and it was night before we reached Parsfemechi.

Schell was besmeared with blood; I had bound up his wound the best I could; but, in Polish villages, no surgeons are to be found, and he performed his journey with great difficulty. We met with two Saxon under-officers here, who were recruiting for the regiment of guards at Dresden. My six-feet height and person pleased them, and they immediately made themselves acquainted with me. I found them intelligent, and entrusted them with our secret, told them who we were, related the battle we had that day had with our pursuers, and I had not reason to repent of my confidence in them. Schell had his wounds dressed, and we remained seven days with these good Saxons, who faithfully kept us company.

I learned, meantime, that, of the four men by whom we had been assaulted, one only, and the coachman, returned alive to Glatz. The name of the officer, who undertook this vile business, was Gersdorf; he had a hundred and fifty ducats in his pocket,

pocket, when found dead. How great would our fortune have been, had not that cursed coach and fix, by its appearance, made us take to flight; since the booty would have been more just! Fortune, this time, did not favour the innocent; and, though traiterously attacked, I was obliged to escape, like a guilty wretch. We sold the watch to a Jew for four ducats, the hat for three florins and a half, and the musket for a ducat, Schell being unable to carry it farther. We left most of this money behind us at Parsfemechi. A Jew surgeon sold us some dear plaisters, which we took with us, and departed.

Feb. 15. From Parsfemechi, through Vielum, to Biala, four miles.

Feb. 16. Through Jerischow to Micorsen, four miles and a half.

Feb. 17. To Osterkow and Schwarzwald, three miles.

Feb. 18. To Sdune, four miles.

Feb. 19. To Goblin, two miles.

Here we arrived, wholly destitute of money. I sold my coat to a Jew, who gave me four florins and a coarse waggoner's frock, in exchange, which I did not think I should long need, as we now drew nearer to where my sister lived, and where, I hoped, I should be better equipped. Schell, however, grew weaker and weaker; his wounds healed slowly, and were expensive; the cold also was injurious to him, and, as he was not, by nature, cleanly in his person, his body soon became the harbour of every species of vermin to be picked up in Poland. We often arrived, wet and weary, to our smoaky, reeking, stove-room. Often were we obliged to lie on straw, or the bare boards; and the various hardships we suffered are almost incredible. Wandering, as we did, in the midst of winter, through Poland, where humanity, hospitality, and gentle pity, are scarcely so much as known by name; where

where merciless Jews deny the poor traveller a bed, and where we, disconsolately, strayed without bread, and almost naked; these were sufferings, the full extent of which he only can conceive by whom they have been felt. My musket, now and then, procured us an occasional meal of tame geese, and cocks and hens, when these were to be had; otherwise, we never took or touched any thing that was not our own. We met with Saxon and Austrian recruiters at various places; all of whom, on account of my youth and stature, were eager to inveigle me. I was highly diverted to hear them enumerate all the possibilities of future greatness, and how liable I was, hereafter to become a corporal: nor was I less merry with their mead, ale, and brandy; given with an intent to make me drunk. Thus had we many artifices to guard against, but thus had we, likewise, very luckily for us, many a good meal gratis.

Feb. 21. We went from Goblin to Pugnitz, three miles and a half.

Feb. 22. Through Storchneft to Schmiegel, four miles.

Here happened a singular adventure. The peasants, at this place, were dancing to a vile scraper on the violin: I took the instrument myself, and played while they continued their hilarity. They were much pleased with my playing, but when I was tired, and desirous to have done, they obliged me, first by importunities, and afterwards by threats, to play on all night. I was so fatigued, I thought I should have fainted: at length, they quarrelled among themselves. Schell was sleeping on a bench, and some of them fell on his wounded hand: he rose furious, I seized our arms, began to lay about me, and, while all was in confusion, we escaped without farther ill treatment.

What

What ample subject of meditation on the various turns of fate did this night afford: But two years before I danced at Berlin, with the daughters and sisters of Kings; and here was I, in a Polish hut, a ragged, almost naked, musician playing for the sport of ignorant rustics, whom I was, at last, obliged to fight.

I was, myself, the cause of the trifling misfortune that befel me on this occasion. Had not my vanity led me to show these poor peasants I was a musician, I might have slept in peace and safety. The same vain desire, of proving I knew more than other men, made me through life the continued victim of envy and slander. Had nature, too, bestowed on me a weaker, or a deformed body, I had been less observed, less courted, less sought, and my adventures and mishaps had been fewer. Thus the merits of the man often become his miseries; and thus the bear, having learned to dance, must live and die in chains.

This ardour, this vanity, or if you please, this emulation, has, however, taught me to vanquish a thousand difficulties, under which others of cooler passions, and more temperate desires, would have sunk. May my example remain a warning, and thus may my sufferings become somewhat profitable to the world, cruel as they have been to myself.—Cruel they were, and cruel they must continue; for the wounds I have received are not, will not, cannot, be healed.

Feb. 23. From Schmiegel to Rakonitz, and from thence to Karzer Holland, four miles and a half.—Here we sold, to prevent dying of hunger, a shirt and Schell's waistcoat for eighteen grosch, or nine schostack. I had shot a pullet the day before, which necessity obliged us to eat raw. I also killed a crow, which I devoured alone, Schell refusing to taste.—Youth and hard travelling created a voracious appetite,

petite, and our eighteen grosch were very soon expended.

Feb. 24. We came through Benzen to Lettel, four miles. Here we halted a day, to learn the road to Hammer, in Brandenburg, where my sister lived. I happened, luckily, to meet with the wife of a Prussian soldier, who lived at Lettel, and belonged to Kolschen, where she was born a vassal of my sister's husband. I told her who I was, and she became our guide.

Feb. 26. To Kurschen and Falkenwalde.

Feb. 27. Through Nuendorf and Oost, and, afterwards, through a pathless wood, five miles and a half to Hammer, and here I knocked at my sister's door at nine o'clock in the evening.

A maid servant came to the door, whom I knew; her name was Mary, and she had been born, and brought up in my father's house. She was terrified at seeing a sturdy fellow in a beggar's dress; which perceiving, I asked Molly, do not you know me? She answered no, and I, then, discovered myself to her. I asked whether my brother-in-law was at home, Mary replied, yes; but he was sick in bed. Tell my sister, then, said I, that I am here. She showed me into a room, and my sister, presently, came.

She was alarmed at seeing me, not knowing that I had escaped from Glatz, and ran to inform her husband, but did not return.

A quarter of an hour after the good Mary came weeping, and told us her master commanded us to quit the premises instantly, or he should be obliged to have us arrested, and delivered up as prisoners. My sister's husband forcibly detained her, and I saw her no more.

What my feelings must be, at such a moment, let the reader imagine. I was too proud, too enraged, to ask money; I furiously left the house, uttering

uttering a thousand menaces against its inhabitants, while the kind-hearted Mary, still weeping, slipped three ducats into my hand, which I accepted.

And now behold us, once more in the wood, which was not above a hundred paces from the house, half dead with hunger and fatigue, not daring to enter any habitation, while in the states of Brandenburg, and dragging our weary steps, all night, snow and rain, until our guide, at length, brought us back, at day break, once again to the town of Lettel.

She herself wept in pity at our fate, and I could only give her two ducats for the danger she had run; but I bade her hope more, in future, and I afterwards sent for her to Vienna, in 1751, where I took great care of her. She was about fifty years of age, and died my servant in Hungary, some weeks before my unfortunate journey to Dantzic, where I fell into my enemies hands, and remained ten years a prisoner at Magdeburg.

We had scarcely reached the wood before, in the anguish of my heart, I exclaimed to Schell—
 “Does not such a sister, my friend, deserve I should
 “fire her house over her head?”—The wisdom of moderation, and calm forbearance, was in Schell, a virtue of the highest order: he was my continual Mentor; my guide, whenever my choleric temperament was disposed to violence.—I, therefore, honour his ashes; he deserved a better fate.

“Friend,” said he, on this occasion,—“reflect, that your sister may be innocent, may be
 “withheld by her husband; besides, should the
 “King discover we had entered her doors, and she
 “had not delivered us again into his power, she
 “might become as miserable as we were. Be more
 “noble minded, and think that, even should your
 “sister be wrong, the time may come when her
 “children may stand in need of your assistance, and
 “you

“ you may have the indescribable pleasure of re-
 “ turning good for evil ”

I shall never forget this excellent advice, which, in reality, was a prophecy. My rich brother-in-law died, and, during the Russian war, his lands and houses were laid desolate and in ruins, and, nineteen years afterwards, when released from my imprisonment at Magdeburg, I had an opportunity of serving the children of my sister. Such are the turns of fate; and thus do improbabilities become facts.

My sister justified her conduct; Schell had conjectured the truth; for, ten years after I was thus expelled her house, she shewed during my imprisonment, she was really a sister. She was shamefully betrayed by Weingarten, Secretary to the Austrian ambassador at Berlin; lost a part of her property, and, at length, her life fell an innocent sacrifice to her brother.

This event, which is interwoven with my tragical history, will be related in another part of this work: my heart bleeds, my very soul shudders, when I recollect this dreadful scene

I have not the means fully to recompense her children; and Weingarten, the just object of vengeance, is long since in the grave; for, did he exist, the earth should not hide him from my sword.

I shall now continue my journal: Deceived in the aid I expected, I was obliged to change my plan, and go to my mother, who lived in Prussia, nine miles beyond Konigsberg.

Feb. 28. We continued, tired, anxious, and distressed at Lettel.

March 1. We went three miles to Pleese, and on

March 2. A mile and a half farther to Meseritz.

March 3. Through Mersebaum to Birnbaum, three miles.

March 4. Through Zircke, Wruneck, Obestchow, to Studnitze, seven miles, in one day, three of which we had the good fortune to ride.

Murch 5. Three miles to Rogosen, where we arrived without so much as a heller to pay our lodging. The Jew innkeeper drove us out of his house; we were obliged to wander all night, and at break of day found we had strayed two miles out of the road.

We entered a peasant's cottage, where an old woman was drawing bread hot out of the oven. We had no money to offer, and I felt, at this moment, the possibility even of committing murder, for a morsel of bread, to satisfy the intolerable cravings of hunger. Shuddering, with torment inexpressible, at the thought, I hastened out of the door, and we walked on two miles more to Wongrosze.

Here I sold my musket for a ducat, which had procured us many a meal: such was the extremity of our distress. We then satiated our appetites, after having been forty hours without food or sleep, and having travelled ten miles in fleet and snow.

March 6. We rested, and came, on the 7th, thro' Genin, to a village in the forest, four miles.

Here we fell in with a gang of gypsies [or rather banditti] amounting to four hundred men, who dragged me to their camp. They were mostly French and Prussian deserters, and thinking me their equal, would force me to become one of their band. But, venturing to tell my story to their leader, he presented me with a crown, gave us a small provision of bread and meat, and suffered us to depart in peace, after having been four and twenty hours in their company.

March 9. We proceeded to Lapuschin, three miles and a half; and the 10th to Thorn, four miles.

A new

A new incident here happened, which shewed I was destined, by fortune, to a variety of adventures, and continually to struggle with new difficulties.

There was a fair held at Thorn on the day of our arrival. Suspicions might well arise, among the croud, on seeing a strong tall young man wretchedly clothed, with a large sabre by his side, and a pair of pistols in his girdle, accompanied by another, as poorly appparelled as himself, with his hand and neck bound up, and armed likewise with pistols, so that altogether, he more resembled a spectre than a man.

We went into an inn, but were refused entertainment: I then asked for the Jesuits college, where I inquired for the father rector. They supposed, at first, I was a thief, come to seek an asylum. After long waiting, and much intreaty, his jesuitical highness at length, made his appearance, and received me as the Grand Mogul would his slave. My case, certainly, was pitiable: I related all the events of my life, and the purport of my journey; conjured him to save Schell, who was unable to proceed farther, and whose wounds grew daily worse; and prayed him to entertain him at the convent, till I should have been to my mother, have obtained money, and returned to Thorn, when I would, certainly, repay him whatever expence he might have been at, with thanks and gratitude.

Never shall I forget the haughty insolence of this priest. Scarcely would he listen to my humble request; thou-ed and interrupted me continually, to tell me "Be brief, I have more pressing affairs than thine." In fine, I was turned away without obtaining the least assistance; and here I was first taught jesuitical pride: God help the poor and honest man who shall need the assistance of Jesuits. They, like all other monks, are seared to every sentiment of human pity, and commiserate the distressed by taunts and irony.

Four times, in my life, I have sought assistance and advice from convents, and am convinced it is the duty of every honest man to aid in erasing them from the face of the earth.

They succour rascals and murderers, that their power may be idolized by the ignorant ; and ostentatiously exert itself to impede the course of law and justice ; but in vain do the poor and needy virtuous apply to them for help.

The reader will pardon my native hatred of hypocrisy and falsehood, especially when he hears I have to thank the Jesuits for the loss of all my great Hungarian estates. Father Kampmuller, the bosom friend of the Count Grashalkowitz, was confessor to the court of Vienna, and there was no possible kind of persecution I did not suffer, from priest-craft. Far from being useful members of society, they, taking advantage of the prejudices of superstition, exist for themselves alone, and sacrifice every duty to the support of their own hierarchy, and found a power, on error and ignorance, which is destructive of all moral virtue.

Let us proceed. Mournful, and angry, I left the college, and went to my lodging house, where I found a Prussian recruiting officer, waiting for me, who used all his arts to engage me to enlist ; offering me five hundred dollars, and to make me a corporal, if I could write. I pretended I was a Livonian, who had deserted from the Austrians, to return home, and claim an inheritance left me by my father. After much persuasion, he, at length, told me, in confidence, it was very well known in the town that I was a robber ; that I should soon be taken before a magistrate, but that, if I would enlist, he would ensure my safety.

This language was new to me ; my passion rose instantaneously ; I remembered my name was Trenck. I struck him, and drew my sword ; but, instead of
defending

defending himself, he sprang out of the chamber, charging the host not to let me quit the house. I knew the town of Thorn had agreed with the King of Prussia, secretly to deliver up deserters, and began to fear the consequences. Looking through the window, I presently saw two Prussian officers enter the house. Schell and I instantly flew to arms, and met the Prussians at the chamber-door. "Make way," cried I, presenting my pistols. The Prussian soldiers drew their swords, but retired with fear. Going out of the house, I saw a Prussian lieutenant, in the street, with the town guard. These I overawed, likewise, by the same means, and no one durst oppose me, though every one cried "Stop thief." I came safely, however, to the Jesuits convent, but poor Schell was taken, and dragged to prison like a malefactor.

Half mad, at not being able to rescue him I imagined he must soon be delivered up to the Prussians. My reception was much better at the convent than it had been before, for they no longer doubted but I was really a thief, who sought an asylum. I addressed myself to one of the fathers, who appeared to be a good kind of man, related briefly what had happened, and entreated he would endeavour to discover why they sought to molest us.

He went out, and returning in an hour after, told me; "Nobody knows you: a considerable theft was, yesterday, committed in the fair; all suspicious persons are seized; you entered the town accoutred like banditti. The man where you put up is employed as a Prussian enlister, and has announced you as suspicious people. The Prussian lieutenant, thereupon, laid complaint against you, and it was thought necessary to secure your persons."

My joy, at hearing this, was great. Our Moravian passport, and the journal of our route, which
I had

I had in my pocket, were full proofs of our innocence. I requested they would send and inquire at the town where we lay the night before. I soon convinced the Jesuit I spoke truth: he went, and presently returned with one of the syndics, to whom I gave a more full account of myself. The syndic examined Schell, and found his story and mine agreed; besides which, our papers, that they had seized, declared who we were. I passed the night in the convent, without closing my eyes, revolving, in my mind, all the rigours of my fate. I was still more disturbed for Schell, who knew not where I was, but remained firmly persuaded, we should be conducted to Berlin; and, if so, determined to put a period to his life.

My doubts were all ended at ten in the morning, when my good Jesuit arrived, and was followed by my friend Schell. The judges, he said, had found us innocent, and declared us free to go where we pleased; adding, however, that he advised us to be upon our guard, we being watched by the Prussian enlisters; that the lieutenant had hoped, by having us committed as thieves, to oblige me to enter, and that this would account for all that had happened.

I gave Schell a most affectionate welcome, who had been very ill used, when led to prison, because he endeavoured to defend himself with his left hand, and follow me. The people had thrown mud at him, and called him a rascal that would soon be hanged. Schell was little able to travel further. The father rector sent us a ducat, but did not see us; and the chief magistrate gave each of us a crown, by way of indemnification for false imprisonment. Thus sent away, we returned to our lodging, took our bundles, and immediately prepared to leave Thorn.

As we went I reflected that, on the road to Elbing, we must pass through several Prussian villages, and inquired for a shop where we might purchase a map. We were directed to an old woman who sat at a door across the way, and were told she had a good assortment, for that her son was a scholar. I addressed myself to her, and my question pleased her, I having added we were unfortunate travellers, who wished to find, by the map, the road to Russia.

She shewed us into a chamber, laid an atlas on the table, and placed herself opposite me, while I examined the map, and endeavoured to hide a bit of a ragged ruffle that had made its appearance. After stedfastly looking at me, she at length exclaimed, with a sad and mournful tone, " Good God ! who knows what is now become of my poor son ! I can see, Sir, you too are of a good family. My son would go and seek his fortune, and, for these eight years, have I had no tidings of him. He must now be in the Austrian cavalry." I asked in what regiment?—" The regiment of Hohenhem ; you are his very picture." " Is he not of my height ?"—" Yes, nearly"—" Has he not light hair ?"—" Yes, like yours, Sir"—" What is his name ?"—" His name is William"—" No, my dear mother," cried I, " William is not dead ; he was my best friend when I was with my regiment."—Here the poor woman could not contain her joy. She threw herself round my neck, called me her good angel who brought her happy tidings, asked me a thousand questions, which I easily contrived to make her answer herself, and thus, forced by imperious necessity, bereft of all other means, did I act the deceiver.

The story, I made, was nearly as follows : I told her I was a soldier in the regiment of Hohenhem, that I had a furlow to go and see my father, and that
I should

I should return in a month, would then take her letters, and undertake that, if she wished it, her son should purchase his discharge, and once more come and live with his mother. I added that I should be for ever and infinitely obliged to her, if she would suffer my comrade, mean time, to live at her house, he being wounded by the Prussian recruiters, and unable to pursue his journey; that I would send him money to come to me, or would myself come back and fetch him, thankfully paying every expence. She joyfully consented, told me her second husband, father-in-law to her dear William, had driven him from home, that he might give what substance they had to the younger son; and that the eldest had gone to Magdeburg. She determined Schell should live at the house of a friend, that her husband might know nothing of the matter; and, not satisfied with this kindness, she made me eat with her, gave me a new shirt, stockings, sufficient provisions for three days, and six Lunenburg florins. I left Thorn, and my faithful Schell, the same night, with the consolation he was well taken care of; and, having parted from him with regret, went on this the 13th, two miles farther to Burglow.

I cannot describe what my sensations were, or the despondence of my mind, when I thus saw myself wandering alone, and leaving, forsaking as it were, the dearest of friends. These may, certainly, be numbered among the bitterest moments of my life. Often was I ready to return, and drag him along with me, though, at last, reason conquered sensibility. I drew near the end of my journey, and was impelled forward by hope.

March 14. I went to Schwetz, and,

March 15. To Neuburg and Mowe. In these two days I travelled thirteen miles. I lay at Mowe, in some straw, among a number of carters, and, when

when I awoke, perceived they had taken my pistols, and what little money I had left, even to my last penny. The gentlemen, however, were all gone.

What could I do? The inn-keeper, perhaps, was privy to the theft. My reckoning amounted to eighteen Polish grosch. The surly landlord pretended to believe I had no money when I entered his house, and I was obliged to give him the only spare shirt I had, with a silk handkerchief, which the good woman, of Thorn, had made me a present of, and to depart without a single heller.

March 16. I set off for Marienburg, but it was impossible I should reach this place, and not fall into the hands of the Prussians, if I did not cross the Vistula, and, unfortunately, I had no money to pay the ferry, which would cost two Polish schellings.

Full of anxiety, not knowing how to act, I saw two fishermen in a boat, went to them, drew my sabre, and obliged them to land me on the other side; when there, I took the oars from these timid people, jumped out of the boat, pushed it off the shore, and left it to drive with the stream.

To what dangers does not poverty expose man! These two Polish schellings were not worth more than half a kreutzer, or some halfpenny, yet was I driven, by necessity, to commit violence on two poor men, who, had they been as desperate in their defence, as I was obliged to be in my attack, blood must have been spilt, and lives lost; hence it is evident that the degrees of guilt ought to be strictly, and minutely, inquired into, and the degree of punishment proportioned: had I hewn them down with my sabre, I should, surely, have been a murderer, but I should, likewise, surely have been one of the most innocent of murderers. Thus, we see, the value of money is not to be estimated by any specific sum, small or great, but according to its necessity and use. How little did I imagine, when at Berlin,
and

and money was treated, by me, with luxurious neglect, I may say, with contempt, I should be driven to the hard necessity, for a sum so apparently despicable, of committing a violence which might have had consequences so dreadful, and have led to the commission of an act so atrocious !

I found Saxon and Prussian recruiters at Marienburgh, with whom, having no money, I ate, drank, listened to their proposals, gave them hopes for the morrow, and departed by day-break.

March 17. To Elbing, four miles.

Here I met with my former worthy tutor, Brodowsky, who was become a captain, and auditor in the Polish regiment of Golzisch. He met me just as I entered the town. I followed, triumphantly, to his quarters, and here, at length, ended the painful, long, and adventurous journey I had been obliged to perform.

This good and kind gentleman, after providing me with immediate necessities, wrote so affectingly to my mother that she came to Elbing, in a week, and gave me every aid of which I stood in need.

The pleasure I had in meeting, once more, this tender mother, whose qualities of heart and mind were equally excellent, was inexpressible. She found a certain mode of conveying a letter to my dear mistress at Berlin, who, a short time after, sent me a bill of exchange for four hundred ducats upon Dantzic. To this my mother added a thousand rix-dollars, and a diamond cross worth nearly half as much, remained a fortnight with me, and persisted, in spite of all remonstrance, in advising me to go to Vienna. My determination had been fixed for Petersburg; all my fears and apprehensions being awakened at the thought of Vienna, and which, indeed, afterwards became the source of all my cruel sufferings and sorrows. She would not yield in opinion, and promised her future assistance only
in

in case of my obedience: it was my duty not to continue obstinate. Here she left me, and I have never seen her since. She died in 1751, and I have ever held her memory in veneration. It was a happiness for this affectionate mother that she did not live to be a witness of my afflictions, in the year 1754.

An adventure, resembling that of Joseph in Egypt, happened to me in Elbing. The wife of the worthy Brodowsky, a woman of infinite personal attraction, grew partial to me; but I durst not act ungratefully by my benefactor. Never to see me more was too painful to her, and she even proposed to follow me secretly to Vienna. I felt the danger of my situation, and doubted whether Potiphar's wife offered temptations so strong as Madam Brodowsky. I own I had an affection for this lady, but my passions were overawed. She preferred me to her husband, who was in years, and very ordinary in person. Had I yielded to the slightest degree of guilt, that of present enjoyment, a few days of pleasure must have been followed by years of bitter repentance.

Having once more assumed my proper name and character, and made presents of acknowledgment to the worthy tutor of my youth, I became eager to return to Thorn.

How great was my joy at again meeting my honest Schell! The kind old woman had treated him like a mother. She was surprised, and half terrified, at seeing me enter in an officer's uniform, and accompanied by two servants. I gratefully and rapturously kissed her hand, repaid, with thankfulness, every expence, for Schell had been nurtured with truly maternal kindness, told her who I was, acknowledged the deceit I had put upon her concerning her son, but faithfully promised to give a true, and not fictitious, account of him immediately on
my

my arrival at Vienna.* Schell was ready in three days, and we left Thorn, came to Warsaw, and passed thence, through Crakow, to Vienna.

I inquired for Captain Capi, at Bilitz, who had before given me so kind a reception, and refused me satisfaction; but he was gone, and I did not meet with him till some years after, when the cunning Italian made me the most humble apologies for his conduct. So goes the world!

My journey from Dantzic to Vienna would not furnish me with an interesting page, though my travels on foot thither would have afforded thrice as much as I have written, had I not been fearful of trifling with the reader's patience.

In poverty one misfortune follows another. The foot-passenger sees the world, becomes acquainted with it, converses with men of every class. The lord luxuriously lolls and slumbers in his carriage, while his servants pay inn-keepers and postillions, and passes rapidly over a kingdom, in which he sees some dozen houses, called inns; and this he calls travelling. I met with more adventures in this my journey of one hundred and sixty-nine miles, than, afterwards, in almost as many thousand, when travelling at ease, in a carriage.

* When I came to Vienna, I took all possible pains to inquire for this William, and found, by the commissary list, that he had deserted in 1744, had been retaken, and actually hanged. For a bribe of a few ducats I procured a certificate of his having died a natural death, which I sent to the good woman, with a letter of thanks and consolation. Perhaps the poor William, who was heir to twenty thousand florins, unable to procure a furlow, had deserted, and was executed as a malefactor. To how many reflections [on arbitrary power, standing armies, and military law], do incidents like these give birth!

Here, then, ends my journal, in which, from the hardships therein related, and numerous others omitted, I seem a kind of second Robinson Crusoe, and to have been prepared, by a gradual increase and repetition of sufferings, to endure the load of affliction which I was, afterward, destined to bear.

ARRIVED AT VIENNA in the month of April, 1747.

And now another act of the tragedy is going to begin.

After having defrayed the expences of travelling for me and my friend Schell, for whose remarkable history I will endeavour to find a few pages in this or the next volume; I divided the three hundred ducats which remained with him, and, having staid a month at Vienna, he went to join the regiment of Pallavicini, in which he had obtained a first-lieutenant's commission, and which was then in Italy.

Here I found my cousin Baron Francis Trenck, the famous partisan and colonel of pandours, imprisoned at the Arsenal, and involved in a most perplexing prosecution.

This Trenck was my father's brother's son. His father had been a colonel and governor of Leitfchau, and had possessed considerable lordships in Sclavonia, those of Pleternitz, Prestowacz and Pakratz. After the siege of Vienna, in 1683, he had left the Prussian service for that of Austria, in which he remained sixty years.

That I may not, here, interrupt my story, I shall give some account of the life of my cousin Baron Francis Trenck, so renowned in the war of 1741, in another place, and who fell, at last, the shameful sacrifice of envy and avarice, and received the reward of all his great and faithful services in the prison of the Spielberg.

The vindication of the family of the Trencks requires I should speak of him; nor will I, in this,
suffer

suffer restraint, from the fear of any man, however powerful. Those, indeed, who sacrificed a man most ardent in his country's service to their own private and selfish views, are now in their graves.

I shall insert no more of his history here than what is interwoven with my own, and relate the rest in its proper place.

A revision of suit was, at this time, instituted. Scarcely was I arrived in Vienna before his confidential agent, M. Leber, presented me to Prince Charles and the Emperor : both knew the services of Trenck, and the malice of his enemies ; therefore, permission for me to visit him in his prison, and procure him such assistance as he might need, were readily granted. On my second audience, the Emperor spoke so much in my persecuted cousin's favour, that I became highly interested : he commanded me to have recourse to him on all occasions ; and, moreover, owned the president of the council of war was a man of a very wicked character, and a declared enemy of Trenck. This president was the Count of Lowenwalde, who, with his associates, had been, purposely, selected as men proper to oppress the best of subjects. The suit soon took another face ; the good Empress Queen, who had been deceived, was soon better informed, and Trenck's innocence appeared, on the revision of the process, most evidently. The trial, which had cost them twenty-seven thousand florins, and the sentence, which followed, were proved to have been partial and unjust ; and that sixteen of Trenck's officers, who, most of them, had been broken for different offences, had perjured themselves to insure his destruction.

It is a most remarkable circumstance that public notice was given, in the Vienna Gazette, to the following purport.

All those who have any complaints to make against Trenck, let them appear, and they shall receive a ducat per day, so long as the prosecution continues.

It will readily be imagined how fast his accusers would increase, and what kind of people they were. The pay of these witnesses, alone, amounted to fifteen thousand florins. I now began to labour in concurrence with Doctor Gerhauer, and the cause soon took another turn; but such was the state of things, it would have been necessary to have broken all the members of the council of war, as well as counsellor Weber, a man of great power. Thus, unfortunately, politics began to interfere with the course of justice.

The Empress Queen gave Trenck to understand she required he should ask her pardon; and, on that condition, all proceedings should be stopped, and he, immediately, set at liberty. Prince Charles, who knew the court of Vienna, advised me, also, to persuade my cousin to comply, but nothing could shake his resolution. Feeling his right and innocence, he demanded strict justice; and this made ruin more swift.

I, soon, learned Trenck must fall a sacrifice—he was rich—his enemies, already, had divided among them more than eight thousand florins of his property, which was all sequestered, and in their lands. They had treated him too cruelly, and knew him too well, not to dread his vengeance the moment he should recover his freedom.

I was moved, to the soul, at his sufferings, and, as he had vented public threats at the prospect of approaching victory over his enemies, they gained over the Court Confessor; and, dreading him as they did, put every wily art in practice to insure his destruction. I, therefore, in the fulness of my heart, made him the brotherly proposition of escaping, and,
having

having obtained his liberty, to prove his innocence to the Empress Queen. I told him my plan, which might, easily, have been put in execution, and which he seemed perfectly decided to follow.

Some days after I was ordered to wait on field-marshal Count Königseck, governor of Vienna. This respectable old gentleman, whose memory I shall ever revere, behaved to me like a father, and the friend of humanity, advised me to abandon my cousin, who, he gave me clearly to understand, had betrayed me, by having revealed my proposed plan of escape, willing to sacrifice me to his ambition, in order to justify the purity of his intentions to the court, and show that, instead of wishing to escape, he only desired justice.

Confounded at the cowardly action of one for whom I would, willingly, have sacrificed my life, and whom I only sought to deliver, I resolved to leave him to his fate, and thought myself exceedingly happy that the worthy field-marshal, would, after a fatherly admonition, smother all farther inquiry into this affair.

I related this black trait of ingratitude to Prince Charles of Lorraine, who prevailed on me to again see my cousin, without letting him know I knew what had passed, and, still to render him every service in my power.

Before I proceed I will, here, give the reader a portrait of this Trenck.

He was a man of superior talents and unbounded ambition; devoted, even fanatically, to his sovereign; his boldness approached temerity; he was artful of mind, wicked of heart, vindictive and unfeeling. His cupidity equalled the utmost excess of avarice, even in his thirty-third year, in which he died. He was too proud to receive favours or obligations from any man, and was capable of ridding himself of his best friend, if he thought he had any claims on his gratitude, or could get possession of his fortune.

He

He knew I had rendered him very important services, supposed his cause already won, having bribed the judges, who were to revise the sentence, with thirty thousand florins, which money I received from his friend Baron Lopresti, and conveyed to these honest counsellors. I knew all his secrets, and nothing more was necessary to prompt his suspicious and bad heart to seek my destruction.

Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed, after having first betrayed me, before the following remarkable event happened.

I left him one evening to return home, taking, under my coat, a bag with papers and documents relating to the prosecution, which I had been examining for him, and transcribing. There were, at this time, about five and twenty officers, at Vienna, who had laid complaints against him, and who considered me as their greatest enemy, because I had laboured, earnestly, in his defence. I was, therefore, obliged, on all occasions, to be upon my guard. A report had been propagated, through Vienna, that I was secretly sent, by the King of Prussia, to free my cousin from imprisonment: he, however, constantly, denied, to the hour of his death, his ever having written to me at Berlin: hence, also, it will follow, the letter I received had been forged by Jaschinsky.

Leaving the Arsenal, I crossed the court, and perceived I was closely followed by two men in grey roquelaures; who, pressing upon my heels, held loud and insolent conversation concerning the runaway Prussian Trenck. I found they sought a quarrel, which was a thing of no great difficulty at that moment; for a man is never more disposed to duelling than when he has nothing to lose, and is discontented with his condition. I supposed they were two of the accusing officers broken by Trenck, and endeavoured to avoid them, and gain the Jew's place.

Scarcely had I turned down the street that leads thither before they quickened their pace. I turned round, and, in a moment, received a thrust, with a sword, in the left side, where I had put my bag of papers, which incident, alone, saved my life: the sword pierced through the papers, and, slightly grazed the skin. I, instantly, drew, and the heroes ran. I pursued, one of them tripped and fell. I seized him; the guard came up: he declared he was an officer of the regiment of Kollowrat, shewed his uniform, was released, and I was taken to prison: The Town Major came the next day, and told me I had, intentionally, sought a quarrel with two officers, Lieutenants F—g and K—n. These kind gentlemen did not reveal their humane intention of sending me to the other world.

I was alone, could produce no witness, they were two. I must, necessarily, be in the wrong, and I remained six days in prison. No sooner was I released than these my good friends sent to demand satisfaction for the said pretended insult. The proposal was accepted, and I promised to be at the Scotch gate, the place appointed by them, within an hour. Having heard their names, I, presently, knew them to be two famous swaggerers, who were, daily, exercising themselves in fencing at the Arsenal, and where they, often, visited Trenck. I went to my cousin to ask his assistance, related what had happened, and, as the consequences of this duel might be very serious, desired him to give me a hundred ducats, that I might be able to fly, if either of them should fall.

Hitherto I had expended my own money on his account, and had asked no reimbursement; but what was my astonishment when this wicked man said to me, with a sneer, “ Since, good cousin, you
“ have got into a quarrel without consulting me,
“ you will, also, get out of it without my aid !”

As

As I left him, he called me back to tell me, "I will take care and pay your undertaker;" for he certainly believed I should never return alive.

I ran now, half despairing, to Baron Lopresti, who gave me fifty ducats and a pair of pistols, provided with which I cheerfully repaired to the field of battle.

Here I found half a dozen officers of the garrison. As I had few acquaintances in Vienna, I had no second, except an old Spanish invalid captain, named Pereyra, who met me going in all haste, and having learned whither, would not leave me.

Lieutenant K—n was the first with whom I fought, and who received satisfaction by a deep wound in the right arm. Hereupon I desired the spectators to prevent further mischief; for my own part, I had nothing more to demand. Lieutenant F—g next entered the lists, with threats, which were soon quieted by a lunge in the belly. Hereupon Lieutenant M—f, second to the first wounded man, told me very angrily—"Had I been your man, you would have found a very different reception." My old Spaniard of eighty, proudly and immediately advanced, with his long whiskers and tottering frame, and cried—"Hold!—Trenck has proved himself a brave fellow, and if any man thinks to assault him further, he must first take a breathing with me." Every body laughed at this bravado, from a man who scarcely could stand, or hold a sword. I replied—"Friend, I am safe, unhurt, and want not aid: should I be disabled, you then, if you think proper, may take my place; but, as long as I can hold a sword, I shall take pleasure in satisfying all these gentlemen, one after another." I would have rested myself a moment, but the haughty M—f, enraged at the defeat of his friend, would not give me time, but furiously attacked me, and, having wounded

him twice, once in the hand, and again in the groin, he wanted to close, and sink me to the grave with himself, but I disarmed and threw him.

None of the others had any desire to renew the contest. My three enemies were sent bleeding to town; and, as M—f appeared to be mortally wounded, and the Jesuits and Capuchins of Vienna refused me an asylum, I fled to the convent at Keltenberg.

I wrote, from the convent, to Colonel Baron Lopresti, who came to me. I told him all that had passed, and, by his good offices, had liberty, in a week, to appear once more at Vienna.

The blood of Lieutenant F—g was in a corrupt state, and his wound, though not in itself dangerous, made his life doubtful. He sent to entreat I would visit him, and, when I went, having requested I would pardon him, gave me to understand I ought to beware of my cousin. I afterwards learned the traiterous Trenck had promised Lieutenant F—g a company, and a thousand ducats, if he could find means to quarrel with me, and rid the world of me. He was deeply in debt, and sought the assistance of Lieutenant K—n; and, had not the papers luckily preserved me, I had, undoubtedly, been dispatched by his first lunge. To clear themselves of the infamy of such an act, these two worthy gentlemen had pretended I had assaulted them in the streets.

I could no more resolve to see my ungrateful and dangerous kinsman, who wished to have me murdered because I knew all his secrets, and thought he should be able to gain his cause without obligation to me, or my assistance. Notwithstanding all his great qualities, his marking characteristic, certainly, was that of sacrificing every thing to his private views, and especially to his covetousness, which was so great that, even at this time of life, though his fortune amounted to a million and a half,

half, he did not spend, per day, more than thirty Kreutzers.

No sooner was it known that I had forsaken Trenck than General Count Lowenwalde, his most ardent enemy, and president of the first council of war, by which he had been condemned, desired to speak to me, promised every sort of good fortune and protection, if I would discover what means had, secretly, been employed in the revision of the process; and went so far as to offer me four thousand florins if I would aid a prosecution against my cousin. Here I learned the influence of villains in power, and the injustice of judges at Vienna. The proposal I rejected with disdain, and rather determined to seek my fortune in the East Indies than continue in a country where, under the best of Queens, the most loyal of subjects, and best of soldiers, might be rendered miserable by interested, angry, and corrupt courtiers. Certain it is, as I now can prove, that Trenck, though the bitterest of my enemies, and whose conduct towards me merited my whole resentment, was the best soldier in the Austrian army, had been liberal of his blood and fortune in the Imperial service, and would still so have continued, had not his wealth, and his contempt for Weber and Lowenwalde, put him in the power of those wretches who were the avowed enemies of courage and patriotism, and who only can maintain their authority, and sate their thirst of gain, by the base and wicked arts of courts. Had my cousin shared the plunder of the war among these men, he had not fallen the martyr of their intrigues, and died in the Spielberg. His accusers were, generally, unprincipled men, of ruined fortunes; and so insufficient were their accusations, that a useful member of society ought not, for any, or all, of them to have suffered an hour's imprisonment. Being fully informed, both of all
the

the circumstances of the prosecution, and the inmost secrets of his heart, justice requires I should, thus publicly, declare this truth, and vindicate his memory. While living he was my bitterest enemy, and, even though dead, was the cause of all my future sufferings; therefore, the account I shall give of him, in the third volume, will, certainly, be the less liable to suspicion, where I shall shew that he, as well as myself, deserved better of Austria.

I was resolved for ever to forsake Vienna. The friends of Trenck all became distrustful of him, because of his ingratitude to me. Prince Charles still endeavoured to persuade me to a reconciliation, and gave me a letter of recommendation to General Brown, who then commanded the Imperial army in Italy. But more desirous of going to India, I left Vienna in August, 1748, desirous of owing no obligation to that city or its inhabitants, and went for Holland. Mean time, the enemies of Trenck found no one to oppose their iniquitous proceedings, and obtained a sentence of imprisonment, in the Spielberg, where he, too late, repented having betrayed his faithful adviser, and prudent friend. I pitied him, and his judges certainly deserved the punishment they inflicted: yet, to his last moments, he showed his hatred towards me was rooted, and, even in the grave, strove, by his will, to involve me in misfortunes, as will hereafter be seen.

I fled from Vienna, would to God it had been for ever; but fate, by strange ways, and unknown means, brought me back where Providence thought proper I should become a vessel of wrath and persecution: I was to enact my part in Europe, and not in Asia. At Nuremberg I met with a body of Russians, commanded by General Lieuwen, my mother's relation, who were marching to the Netherlands, and were the peace-makers of Europe. Major Busch-

kow,

know, whom I had known when a Russian resident at Vienna, prevailed on me to visit him, and presented me to the General. I pleased him, and may say, with truth, he behaved to me like a friend and a father. He advised me to enter into the Russian service, and gave me a company of dragoons, in the regiment of Tobolski, on condition I should not leave him, but employ myself in his cabinet; and his confidence and esteem for me were unbounded.

Peace followed; the army returned to Moravia, without firing a musket, and the head quarters were fixed at Prosnitz.

In this town a public entertainment was given, by General Lieuwen, on the coronation day of the Empress Elizabeth; and here an adventure happened to me, which I shall ever remember, as a warning to myself, and insert as a memento to others.

The army physician, on this day, kept a Faro bank, for the entertainment of the guests. My stock of money consisted of two and twenty ducats. Thirst of gain, or, perhaps, example, induced me to venture two of these, which I immediately lost, and very soon, by venturing again to regain them, the whole two and twenty. Chagrined at my folly, I returned home: I had nothing but a pair of pistols left, for which, because of their workmanship, General Woyekow had offered me twenty ducats. These I took, intending, by their aid, to attempt to retrieve my loss. Firing of guns and pistols was heard throughout the town, because of the festival, and I, in imitation of the rest, went to the window, and fired mine. After a few discharges, one of my pistols burst, and endangered my own hand, and wounded my servant. I felt a momentary despondency, stronger than I ever remember to have experienced before: insomuch that I was half induced, with the remaining pistol, to shoot myself through the head. I, however, recovered my spirits, asked my

my servant what money he had, and received from him three ducats. With these I repaired, like a desperate gamester, once more to the Faro table, at the General's, again began to play, and, so extraordinary was my run of luck, I won at every venture. Having recovered my principal, I played on upon my winnings, till, at last, I had absolutely broke the Doctor's bank; a new bank was set up, and I won the greatest part of this likewise, so that I brought home about six hundred ducats.

Rejoiced at my good fortune, but recollecting my danger, I had the prudence to make a solemn resolution never more to play at any game of chance, to which I have ever strictly adhered.

It were to be wished young men would reflect upon the effects of gaming, remembering that the love of play has made the most promising, and virtuous miserable; the honest, knaves; and the sincere, deceivers and liars. Officers, having first lost all their own money, being intrusted with the soldiers' pay, have next lost that also; and thus been cashiered, and eternally disgraced. I might, at Prosnitz, have been equally rash and culpable. The first venture, whether the gamester wins or loses, ensures a second; and, with that, too often, destruction. My good fortune was almost miraculous, and my subsequent resolution very uncommon; and I intreat and conjure my children, when I shall no longer be living to advise and watch for their welfare, most determinedly to avoid play. I seemed preserved by Providence from this evil but to endure much greater.

General Lieuwen, my kind patron, sent me, from Krakow, to conduct a hundred and forty sick men down the Vistula to Dantzic, where there were Russian vessels to receive and transport them to Riga.

I requested permission of the General to proceed forward and visit my mother and sister, whom I was
very

very desirous to see: at Elbing, therefore, I resigned the command to Lieutenant Platen, and, attended by a servant, rode to the bishoprick of Emerland, where I had appointed an interview with them in a frontier village.

Here an incident happened that had nearly cost me my life. The Prussians, some days before, had carried off a peasant's son, from this village, as a recruit. The people were all in commotion. I wore spatterdashies, and the blue horse uniform of Russia. They took me for a Prussian, at the door, and fell upon me with every kind of weapon. A chasseur, who happened to be there, and the landlord, came to my assistance, while I, battling with the peasants, had thrown two of them down. I was delivered, but not till I had received, among others, two violent bruises, one on the left arm, and another which broke the bridge of my nose. The landlord advised me to escape as fast as possible, or, that the village would certainly rise and murder me; my servant, therefore, who had retired, for defence, with a pair of pistols, into the bakehouse, got ready the horses, and we rode off.

I had my bruises dressed at the next village; my hand and eyes were exceedingly swelled, but I was obliged to ride two miles farther, to the town of Ressel, before I could find an able surgeon, and here I so far recovered, in a week, that I was able to return to Dantzic. My brother visited me, while at Ressel, but my good mother had the misfortune, as she was coming to me, to be thrown out of her carriage, by which her arm was broken, so that she and my sister were obliged to return, and I never saw her more.

I was now at Dantzic, with my sick convoy, where another most remarkable event happened, which I, with good reason, shall ever remember.

I became acquainted with a Prussian officer, whose name I shall conceal, out of respect to his very worthy

thy family; he visited me daily, and we often rode out together in the neighbourhood of Dantzic.

My faithful servant became acquainted with his, and my astonishment was indeed great when he, one day, said to me, with anxiety, "Beware, Sir, of a snare laid for you by Lieutenant N———; he means to entice you out of town, and deliver you up to the Prussians." I asked him where he learned this: "From the lieutenant's servant," answered he, "who is my friend, and wishes to save me from misfortune."

I, now, with the aid of a couple of ducats, discovered the whole affair; and learned, it was agreed, between the Prussian resident, Reimer, and the lieutenant, that the latter should entice me into the suburb of Langfuhr, where there was an inn on the Prussian territories: here eight recruiting under-officers were to wait concealed, and seize me, the moment I entered the house, hurry me into a carriage, and drive away for Lauenberg in Pomerania. Two under-officers were to escort me, on horseback, as far as the frontiers, and the remainder to hold, and prevent me from calling for help, so long as we should remain on the territories of Dantzic.

I farther learned, my enemies were only to be armed with sabres; and that they were to wait behind the door. The two officers, on horseback, were to secure my servant, and prevent him from riding off and raising an alarm.

These preparations might easily have been rendered fruitless, by my refusing to accept the proposal of the Lieutenant: but vanity gave me other advice; and resentment made me desirous of avenging myself for such detestable treachery.

Lieutenant N——— came, about noon, to dine with me as usual; was more pensive and serious than I had ever observed him before, and left me,
at

at four in the afternoon, after having made me promise to ride early next day with him as far as Langfuhr. I observed my consent gave him great pleasure, and my heart then pronounced sentence on the traitor. The moment he had left me I went to the Russian resident, M. Scheerer, an honest Swiss, related the whole conspiracy, and asked whether I might not take six of the men under my command for my own personal defence: I told him my plan, which he, at first, opposed, but, seeing me obstinate, he answered, at last, "Do as you please; I must know nothing of the matter, nor will I make myself responsible."

I immediately joined my soldiers, selected six men, and took them, while it was dark, opposite the Prussian inn, hid them in the corn, with an order to run to my help, with their firelocks loaded, the first discharge they should hear, to seize all who should fall into their power, and only to fire in case of resistance. I provided them with fire arms, by concealing them in the carriage which brought them to their hiding place.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, I still thought it necessary to prevent surprise, by informing myself what were the proceedings of my enemies, lest my intelligence should have been false; and I learned from my spies that, at four in the morning, the Prussian resident, Reimer, had left the city with post-horses.

I loaded mine and my servant's horse and pocket pistols, prepared my Turkish sabre, and, in gratitude to the Lieutenant's man, promised to take him into my service, being convinced of his honesty.

The lieutenant cheerfully entered, about six in the morning, expatiated on the fineness of the weather, and jocosely told me I should be very kindly

ly received by the handsome landlady of Langfuhr.

I was soon ready; we mounted, and left the town, attended by our servants. Some three hundred paces from the inn, my worthy friend proposed that we should alight, and let our servants lead the horses, that we might enjoy the beauty of the morning: I consented; and, having dismounted, observed his treacherous eyes sparkle with pleasure.

The resident, Reimer, was at the window of the inn, and called out, as soon as he saw me, "Good-morrow, captain, good-morrow; come, come in, your breakfast is waiting." I sneering, smiled, and told him I had not time, at present. So saying, I continued my walk, but my companion would absolutely force me to enter, took me by the arm, and partly struggled with me, on which, losing all patience, I gave him a blow, which almost knocked him down, and ran to my horses, as if I meant to fly.

The Prussians, instantly, rushed from behind their door, with clamour, to attack me. I fired at the first; my Russians sprang from their hiding place, presented their pieces, and called, *Stuy, stuy, yebionnamat*.

The terror of the poor Prussians may well be supposed. All began to run. I had taken care to make sure of my lieutenant, and was, next, running to seize the resident, but he had escaped out of the back door, with the loss only of his white periwig. The Russians had taken four prisoners, and I commanded them to bestow fifty strokes upon each of them, in the open street. An ensign, named Caffeburg, having told me his name, and that he had been my brother's school-fellow, begged remission, and excused himself, on the necessity which he was under to obey his superiors. I admitted his
excuses,

excuses, and suffered him to go. I then drew my sword, and bade the lieutenant defend himself; but he was so confused that, after drawing his sword, he asked my pardon, laid the whole blame upon the resident, and had not the power to put himself upon his guard. I twice, jerked his sword out of his hand, and, at last, taking the Russian corporal's cane, I exhausted my strength with beating him, without his offering the least resistance. Such is the meanness of detected treachery. I left him kneeling, saying to him, "Go, rascal! now, and tell your comrades the manner in which Trenck punishes robbers on the highway."

The people had assembled round us, during the action, to whom I related the affair, and, the attack having happened on the territories of Dantzic, the Prussians were in danger of being stoned by the populace. I and my Russians marched off victorious, proceeded to the harbour, embarked, and, three or four days after, set sail for Riga.

It is remarkable that none of the public papers took any notice of this affair; no satisfaction was required. The Prussians, no doubt, were ashamed of being defeated in an attempt so perfidious.

I since have learned that Frederic, no doubt, by the false representations of Reimer, was highly irritated, and what afterwards happened, proves his anger pursued me through every corner of the earth, till, at last, I fell into his power at Dantzic, and suffered a martyrdom most unmerited and unexampled.

The Prussian envoy, Goltz, indeed, made complaints to Count Bestuchef, concerning this Dantzic skirmish, but received no satisfaction. My conduct was justified in Russia, I having defended myself against assassins, as a Russian captain ought.

Some dispassionate readers may blame me for not having avoided this rencontre, and demanded
personal

personal satisfaction of Lieutenant N——. But I have, through life, rather sought than avoided danger. My vanity and revenge were both roused. I was, every where, persecuted by the Prussians, and was, therefore, determined to show that, far from fearing, I was able to defend myself.

I hired the servant of the lieutenant, whom I found honest and faithful, and whom I comfortably settled in marriage at Vienna, in 1753. After my ten years imprisonment, I found him poor, and again took him into my service, in which he died, at Zwerbach, in 1779.

And now behold me at sea, on my voyage to Riga. I had eaten heartily before I went on board: a storm came on, I worked half the night to aid the crew, but at length became sea-sick, and went to lie down. Scarcely had I closed my eyes before the master came with the joyful tidings, as he thought, that we were running for the port of Pillau. Far from pleasing, this, to me, was dreadful intelligence. I ran on deck, saw the harbour right before me, and a pilot coming off. The sea must now either be kept in a storm, or I fall into the hands of the Prussians; for I was known to the whole garrison of Pillau.

I desired the captain to tack about and keep the sea, but he would not listen to me. Perceiving this, I flew to my cabin, snatched my pistols, returned, seized the helm, and threatened the captain with instant death, if he did not obey. My Russians began to murmur; they were adverse to encountering the dangers of the storm, but, luckily, they were still more averse to meet my anger, overawed, as they were, by my pistols, and my two servants, who stood by me faithfully.

Half an hour after the storm began to subside, and we, fortunately, arrived the next day in the harbour of Riga. The captain, however, could
not

not be appeased, but accused me before the old and honourable Marshall Lacy, then governor of Riga. I was obliged to appear, and replied to the charge by relating the truth. The governor answered, my obstinacy might have occasioned the death of a hundred and sixty persons. I, smiling, retorted, "I have brought them all safe to port, please your Excellency; and, for my part, my fate would have been much more merciful, by falling into the hands of my God, than into the hands of my enemies. My danger was so great that I forgot the danger of others; besides, sir, I knew my comrades were soldiers, and feared death as little as I do." My answer pleased the fine grey-headed general, and he gave me a recommendation to the chancellor Bestuchef at Moscow.

General Lieuwen had marched from Moravia, for Russia, with the army, and was then at Riga. I went to pay him my respects; he kindly received me, and took me to one of his seats, named Anna-burg, four miles from Riga. Here I remained some days, and he gave me every recommendation to Moscow, where the court then was. It was intended I should endeavour to obtain a company in the regiment of cuirassiers, the captains of which then ranked as majors, and he advised me to throw up my commission in the Siberian regiment of Tobolski dragoons. Peace to the manes and the memory of this worthy man! May God reward his benevolence!

From Riga I departed, in company with M. Oettinger, lieutenant colonel of engineers, and Lieutenant Weisemann, for Moscow. This is the same Weisemann who rendered so many important services to Russia, during the last war with the Turks.

On

On my arrival, after delivering in my letters of recommendation, I was particularly well received by Count Bestuchef. Oettinger, whose friendship I had gained, was exceedingly intimate with the chancellor, and my interest was thereby promoted.

I had not been long at Moscow before I met Count Hamilton, my former friend during my abode at Vienna. He was captain of cavalry, in the regiment of General Bernes, who had been sent as imperial ambassador to Russia.

Bernes had been ambassador at Berlin, in 1743, where he had, consequently, known me during the height of my favour at the court of Frederic. Hamilton presented me to him, and I had the good fortune so far to gain his friendship, that, after a few visits, he endeavoured to detach me from the Russian service, offering me the strongest recommendations to Vienna, and a company in his own regiment. My cousin's misfortunes, however, had left too deep an impression upon my memory, for me to follow his advice. The Indies would then have been preferred by me to Austria.

Bernes invited me to dine with him, in company with his bosom friend, Lord Hyndford, the English ambassador. How great was the pleasure I that day received! This eminent statesman had known me at Berlin, and was present when Frederic had honoured me with saying, *C'est un matador de ma jeunesse*. He was well read in men, conceived a good opinion of my abilities, and became a friend and father to me. He seated me by his side at table, and asked me, "Why came you here, Trenck?"—"In search of bread and honour, my Lord," answered I, "having unfortunately lost them both in my own country." He farther inquired the state of my finances: I told him my whole store might be some thirty ducats.

"Take

“ Take my counsel,” said he ; “ you have the
 “ necessary qualifications to succeed in Russia, but
 “ the people here despise poverty, judge from the
 “ exterior only, and do not include services, or talents
 “ in the estimate ; you must have the appearance
 “ of being wealthy. I, and Bernes, will introduce
 “ you into the best families, and will supply you
 “ with the necessary means of support. Splendid
 “ liveries, led horses, diamond rings, deep play, a
 “ bold front, undaunted freedom with statesmen,
 “ and gallantry among the ladies, are the means by
 “ which foreigners must make their way in this coun-
 “ try. Avail yourself of them, and leave the rest to
 “ us.” This lesson lasted some time. Bernes en-
 tered in the interim, and they determined, mutually,
 to contribute towards my promotion.

Few of the young men who seek their fortune
 in foreign countries, meet incidents so favourable.
 Fortune, for a moment, seemed willing to recom-
 pense my past sufferings, and again to raise me to
 the height from which I had fallen. These ambaf-
 sadors, here again, by accident met, had before
 been witnesses of my prosperity when at Berlin. The
 talents I possessed, and the favour I then enjoyed,
 attracted the notice of all foreign ministers. They
 were bosom friends, equally well read in the human
 heart, and equally benevolent and noble-minded :
 their recommendation at court was decisive ; the
 nations they represented were in alliance with Russia,
 and the confidence Bestuchef placed in them was
 unbounded.

I was now introduced into all companies, not as a
 foreigner who came to intreat employment, but as
 the heir of the house of Trenck, and its rich Hun-
 garian possessions, and as the former favourite of
 the Prussian monarch.

I was also admitted to the society of the first lite-
 rati, and wrote a poem on the anniversary of the

coronation of the Empress Elizabeth. Hyndford took care she should see it, and, in conjunction with the chancellor, presented me to the sovereign. My reception was most gracious; she herself recommended me to the chancellor, and presented me with a gold-hilted sword, worth a thousand rubles. This raised me highly in the esteem of all the houses of the Bestuchef party.

Manners were, at that time, so rude in Russia, that every foreigner, who gave a dinner, or a ball, must send notice to the chancellor Bestuchef, that he might return a list of the guests allowed to be invited. Faction governed every thing, and, wherever Bestuchef was, no friend of Woronzow durst appear. I was the intimate of the Austrian and English ambassadors; consequently, was caressed and esteemed in all companies. I, soon, became the favourite of the chancellor's lady, as I shall, hereafter, notice; and nothing more was wanting to obtain all I could wish.*

I was well acquainted with architectural design, had free access to the house and cabinet of the chancellor, where I drew in company with Colonel Oettinger, who was, then, the head architect of Russia, and made the perspective view of the new palace, which the chancellor intended to build at Moscow, by which I acquired universal honour. I had gained more acquaintance in, and knowledge of, Russia in one month, than others, have done in twelve.

As I was, one day, relating my progress to Lord Hyndford, he, like a friend, grown grey in courts, kindly took the parental trouble to advise me. From

* Books, anecdotes, private scandal, all inform us that the Chesterfield system, far from being supposed depraved, is held honourable, and its pupils boast of their exploits in all foreign countries. We say foreign, for we have an ardent hope England is, still, an exception. T.

him I obtained a perfect knowledge of Russia: he was acquainted with all the intrigues of European courts, their families, party cabals, the foibles of the monarchs, the principles of their government, the plans of the great Peter, and had, also, made the peace of Breslaw. Thus, having been the confidential friend of Frederic, he was intimately acquainted with his heart, as well as the sources of his power. Hyndford was penetrating, noble minded, had the greatness of the Briton, without his haughtiness, and the principles, by which he combined the past, the present, and the future, were so clear, that I, his scholar, by adhering to them, have been enabled to foretel all the most remarkable revolutions that have happened, during the space of six and thirty years, in Europe. By these I knew, when any minister was disgraced, who should be his successor. I, daily, passed some hours improving by his kind conversation, and to him am I indebted for most of that knowledge of the world I happen to possess.

He took various opportunities of cautioning me against the effects of an ardent, sanguine temper, and my hatred of arbitrary power; warned me to beware of the determined persecution of Frederic, of his irreconcilable anger, his intrigues and influence in the various courts of Europe, which he would, certainly, exert to prevent my promotion, lest I should impede his own projects, and lamented my future sufferings, which he plainly foresaw. "Def-pots," said he, "always are suspicious, and abhor those who have a consciousness of their own worth, of the rights of mankind, and hold the lash of slavery in detestation. The enlightened are, by them, called restless spirits, turbulent and dangerous; and virtue, there, where virtue is un-

“ necessary for the humbling and trampling upon
 “ the suffering subject, is accounted a crime of all
 “ others, the most to be dreaded.”

Hyndford taught me to know, and highly to value freedom, to despise tyrants, to endure the worst of miseries, to emulate true greatness of mind, to despise danger, and to honour only those whose elevation of soul had taught them equally to oppose bigotry and despotism.

Bernes was a philosopher, but, with the penetration of an Italian, more cautious than Hyndford, yet equally honest and worthy. His friendship for me was unbounded, and the time passed in their company was esteemed, by me, most precious.—The liberality of my sentiments, thirst after knowledge and scientific acquirements, gained their favour: our topics of conversation were inexhaustible; and I acquired more real information at Moscow than at Berlin, under the tuition of La Metri, Maupertuis, and Voltaire.

Scarcely had I been six weeks in this city before I had an adventure which I shall, here relate; for, myself excepted, all the persons concerned in it are, now dead. Intrigues properly belong to novels.—This book is intended for a more serious purpose, and they are therefore, here usually suppressed. It cannot be supposed I was a woman-hater. Most of the good or bad fortune I experienced originated in love.—I was not, by nature, inconstant, and was incapable of deceit, even in amours.—In the very ardour of youth I always shunned mere sensual pleasures. I loved for more exalted reasons, and for such, sought to be beloved again. Love and friendship were, with me, always united; and these I was capable of inciting, maintaining, and deserving.—The most difficult of access,
 the

the noblest, and the fairest, were, ever, my choice; and my veneration for these, always deterred me from grosser gratifications. By woman I was formed; by the faith of woman supported under misfortunes: in the company of woman enjoyed the few hours of delight my life of sorrows has experienced. Woman, beautiful and well instructed, even now, lightens the burthen of age, the world's tediousness, and its woes; and, when these are ended, I would rather wish my eyes might be closed by fair and virgin hands, than, when expiring, fixed on a hypocritical priest.

My adventures with women would amply furnish a romance: but enough of this. I should not relate the present, were it not necessary to my story. *

Dining, one public day, with Lord Hyndford. I was seated beside a charming young lady of one of the best families in Russia, who had been promised in marriage, though only seventeen, to an old invalid minister. Her eyes, soon, told me she thought me preferable to her intended bridegroom. I understood them, lamented her hard fate, and was surprised to hear her exclaim, "Oh Heavens! that it were possible you could deliver me from my misfortune: I would engage to do whatever you would direct."

The impression such an appeal must make on a man of four and twenty, of a temperament like mine, may easily be supposed. The lady was ra-

* It would be unpardonable not to warn the youthful reader of the mixture of good and bad morality in what the Baron has here, and in various other places, been pleased to say concerning love; or, rather, as he too often and too evidently means the worst part of love, gallantry. T.

vingly beautiful ; her soul was candour itself, and her rank that of a Princess ; but the court's commands had, already, been given in favour of the marriage ; and flight, with all its inseparable dangers, was the only expedient. A public table was no place for long explanations. Our hearts were, already one. I requested an interview, and the next day was appointed, the place the Trotzer garden, where I passed three rapturous hours in her company ; thanks to her woman, who was a Georgian.

To escape, however, from Moscow was impossible. The distance thence to any foreign country, was too great. The court was not to remove to Petersburg till the next spring, and her marriage was fixed for the first of August. The misfortune was not to be remedied, and nothing was left us but patience per force. We could only resolve to fly from Petersburg, when there, the soonest possible, and to take refuge in some corner of the earth, where we might remain unknown of all. The marriage, therefore, was celebrated with pomp, though I, in despite of forms, was the true husband of the Princess. Such was the state of the husband imposed upon her that, to describe it, and not give disgust, were impossible.

The princess gave me her jewels, and several thousand rubles, which she had received as a nuptial present, that I might purchase every thing necessary for flight : my evil destiny however, had otherwise determined. I was playing at ombre with her one night, at the house of the Countess of Bestuchef, when she complained of a violent head ach, appointed me to meet her, on the morrow, in the Trotzer gardens, clasped my hand with inexpressible emotion, and departed. Alas ! I never beheld her more, till stretched upon her bier !

She grew delirious, that very night, and so continued till her death, which happened on the sixth day,

day, when the small-pox began to appear. Amidst her distraction, she had discovered our love, and incessantly called on me to deliver her from her tyrant. Thus, in the flower of her age, perished one of the most lovely of women I ever knew, and with her fled all I held most dear.

All my plans were now to be new arranged.— Lord Hyndford, alone, was in the secret, for I had no secrets for him : he strengthened me in my first resolution, and owned that he himself, for such a mistress, might, perhaps, have been weak enough to have acted as I had done. Almost as much moved as myself, he sympathized with me like a friend, and his advice deterred me from ending my miseries, and descending with her, whom I had loved and lost, to the grave. This was the severest trial I had ever felt. Our affection was unbounded, and such only as noble hearts can feel. She being gone, the whole world became a desert, There is not a man on earth, whose life affords more various turns of fate than mine. Swiftly raised to the highest pinnacle of hope, as suddenly was I cast headlong down, and so remarkable were these revolutions that he, who has read my history, will at last find it difficult to say whether he envies or pities me most. And, yet, these were, in reality, but preparatory to the evils that hovered over my devoted head. Had not the remembrance of past joys soothed and supported me, under my sufferings, I, certainly, should not have endured the ten years torture of the Magdeburg dungeon, with a fortitude that might have been worthy even of Socrates.

Enough of this. My blood again courses swifter through my veins as I write ! Rest, gentle maiden, noble and lovely as thou wert ! For thee, ought Heaven to have united a form so fair, animated as it was by a soul so pure, to ever-blooming youth and immortality.

My

My love for this lady became well known in Moscow ; yet her corpulent overgrown husband had not understanding enough to suppose there was any meaning in her rhapsodies during her delirium.

Her gifts to me amounted, in value, to about seven thousand ducats. Lord Hyndford, and Count Bernes, both adjudged them legally mine, and well am I assured her heart had bequeathed me much more.

To this event succeeded another, by which my fortune was greatly influenced. The Countess of Bestuchef was then the most amiable and witty woman at court. Her Husband, cunning, selfish, but shallow, had the name of minister, while she, in reality, governed with a genius at once daring and comprehensive. The too pliant Elizabeth, carelessly, left the most important things to the direction of others. Thus, the Countess was the first person of the empire, and on whom the attention of all the foreign ministers was fixed.

Haughty and majestic in demeanor, she was supposed to be the only woman at court who continued faithful to her husband ; which supposition, probably, originated in her art and education, she being a German born ; for I afterward found her virtue was only pride, and a knowledge of the national character. The Russian lover rules despotic over his mistress ; requires money, submission, and, should he meet opposition, threatens her with blows and the discovery of her secret.

During Elizabeth's reign foreigners could neither appear at court, nor in the best company, without the introduction of Bestuchef. I, and Sievers, gentleman of the chamber, were, at that time, the only Germans who had free egress and regress in all houses of fashion : my being protected by the English and Austrian ambassadors, gave me very peculiar advantages,

advantages, and made my company every where courted.

Bestuchef had been resident, during the late reign, at Hamburg, in which inferior station he married the countess, at that time, though young and handsome, only the widow of the merchant Boettger. Under Elizabeth, Bestuchef rose to the summit of rank and power, and the widow Boettger became the first lady in the empire. When I knew her, she was eight and thirty, consequently no beauty, though a woman highly endowed in mind and manners, of keen discernment, disliking the Russians, protecting the Prussians, and at whose aversion all trembled.

Her carriage towards the Russians was, what it must be in her situation, lofty, cautious, and ironical, rather than kind. To me, she shewed the utmost esteem on all occasions, welcomed me to her table, and often admitted me to drink coffee in company with herself alone and Colonel Oettinger. The countess never failed giving me to understand she had perceived my love for the Princess N———; and, though I constantly denied the fact, she related circumstances which she could have known, as I thought, only from my mistress herself: my silence pleased her, for the Russians, when a lady has a partiality for them, never fail to vaunt of their good fortune. She wished to persuade me she had observed us in company, had read the language of our eyes, and had long penetrated our secret. I was ignorant, at that time, that she then, and had long before, entertained the maid of my mistress, as a spy in her pay.

About a week after the death of the princess, the countess invited me to take coffee with her, in her chamber; lamented my loss, and the violence of that passion which had deprived me of all my customary vivacity, and altered my very appearance. She seemed so interested in my behalf, and expressed so

1

many

many wishes, and so ardent, to better my fate, that I could no longer doubt. Another opportunity soon happened, which confirmed these my suspicions : her mouth confessed her sentiments. Discretion, secrecy, and fidelity, were the laws she imposed ; and never did I experience a more ardent passion from woman. Such was her understanding and penetration, she knew how to rivet my affections.

Caution was the thing most necessary. She contrived, however, to make opportunity. The chancellor valued, confided in me, and employed me in his cabinet ; so that I remained whole days in the house. My captainship of cavalry was now no longer thought of : I was destined to political employment. My first was to be gentleman of the chamber, which, in Russia, is an office of importance, and the prospect of futurity became to me most resplendent. Lord Hyndford, ever the repository of my secrets, counselled me, formed plans for my conduct, rejoiced at my success, and refused to be reimbursed the expence he had been at, though now my circumstances were prosperous.

The degree of credit I enjoyed soon was noticed : foreign ministers began to pay their court to me ; Goltz, the Prussian minister, made every effort to win me, but found me incorruptible.

The Russian alliance was, at this time, highly courted, by foreign powers ; the humbling of Prussia was the thing generally wished and planned ; and nobody was better informed, than myself, of ministerial and family factions at this court.

My mistress, a year after my acquaintance with her, fell into her enemies' power, and, with her husband, was delivered over to the executioner. Chancellor Bestuchef, in the year 1756, was forced to confession, by the knout. Apraxim, minister of war, had a similar fate. The wife of his brother, then envoy in Poland, was, by the treachery of a certain
Lieutenant

Lieutenant Berger, with three others of the first ladies of the court, knouted, branded, and had their tongues cut out. This happened in the year 1741, when Elizabeth ascended the throne. Her husband, however, faithfully served; I knew him, as Russian envoy, at Vienna, in 1751. This may, indeed, be called the love of our country, and thus does it happen to the first men of the state: what then can a foreigner hope for if persecuted, and in the power of those in authority?*

No man, in so short a space of time, had greater opportunities than I, to discover the secrets of state; especially when guided by Hyndford, and Bernes, under the reign of a well-meaning, but short-sighted Empress, whose first minister was a weak man, directed by the will of an able and ambitious wife, and which wife loved me, a stranger, an acquaintance only of a few months, so passionately that, to this passion, she would have sacrificed every other object. She might, in fact, be considered as Empress of Russia, disposing of peace or war; and, had I been more prudent or less sincere, I might, in such a situation, have amassed treasures, and deposited them in full security. Her generosity was boundless, and, though obliged to pay above a hundred thousand rubles, in one year, to discharge her son's debts, yet might I have saved a still larger sum; but half of the gifts, she obliged me to receive, I lent to this son, and lost. So far was I from selfish, and so negligent of wealth, that, by

* There is a confusion of dates, as well as facts, in the above paragraph. Perhaps there may be some error of the press; and the Baron's long imprisonment, and the advanced age in which he wrote, might both, or either, lead to mistake. The Baron's chronology, even of himself, is, throughout, very inaccurate. T.

supplying the wants of others, I often, on a reverse of fortune, suffered want myself.

This my splendid success, in Russia, displeased the great Frederic, whose prosecution every where attended me, and who supposed his interest injured by my success in Russia. The incident I am going to relate was, at the time it happened, well known to, and caused much agitation among, all the foreign ambassadors.

Lord Hyndford desired I would make him a fair copy of a plan of Cronstadt, for which he furnished the materials, with three additional drawings of the various ships in the harbour, and their names. There was neither danger nor suspicion attending this: the plan of Cronstadt being no secret, but publicly sold in the shops of Petersburg. England was, likewise, then in the closest alliance with Russia. Hyndford shewed the drawing to Funk, the Saxon envoy, his intimate friend, who asked his permission to copy it himself. Hyndford gave him the plan signed with my name, and after Funk had been some days employed copying it, the Prussian minister, Goltz, who lived in the neighbourhood, came in, as he frequently paid him friendly visits. Funk, unsuspecting, shewed him my drawing, and both lamented that Frederic had lost so useful a subject. Goltz asked to borrow it, for a couple of days, in order to correct his own, and Funk, one of the worthiest, most honest, and least suspicious of men, who loved me like a brother, accordingly lent the plan.

No sooner was Goltz in possession of it than he hurried to the chancellor, with whose weakness he was well acquainted, told him his intent in coming was to prove that a man, who had once been unfaithful to his king and country, where he had been loaded with favours, would certainly betray, for his own private interest, every state where he
was

was trusted. He continued his preface, by speaking of the rapid progress I had made in Russia, and the free entrance I had found in the chancellor's house, where I was received as a son, and initiated in the secrets of the cabinet.

The chancellor defended me:—Goltz then endeavoured to incite his jealousy, and told him my private interviews with his wife, especially in the palace garden, were publicly spoken of. This he had learned from his spies, he having endeavoured, by the snares he laid, to make my destruction certain.

He, likewise, led Bestuchef to suspect his secretary, S—n, was a party in the intrigue; till, at last, the chancellor became very angry: Goltz then took my plan of Cronstadt from his pocket, and added, “Your excellency is nourishing a serpent in your bosom. This drawing have I received from Trenck, copied from your cabinet designs, for two hundred ducats.” He knew I was employed there sometimes with Oettinger, whose office it was to inspect the buildings and repairs of all the Russian fortifications. Bestuchef was astonished; his anger became violent, and Goltz added fuel to the flame, by insinuating I should not be so powerfully protected by Bernes, the Austrian ambassador, were it not to favour the views of his own court. Bestuchef mentioned prosecution and the knout; Goltz replied my friends were too powerful, my pardon would be procured, and the evil, this way, increased. They, therefore, determined, to have me secretly secured, and privately conveyed to Siberia.

Thus, while I, unsuspectingly, dreamed of nothing but happiness, the gathering storm threatened destruction, which only was averted by accident, or God's good providence.

Goltz

Goltz had scarcely left the place, triumphant, when the chancellor entered, with bitterness and rancour in his heart, into his lady's apartment, reproached her with my conduct, and, while she endeavoured to sooth him, related all that had passed. Her penetration was much deeper than her husband's: she perceived there was a plot against me: she, indeed, knew my heart better than any other, and particularly that I was not in want of a poor two hundred ducats. She could not, however, appease him, and my arrest was determined. She, therefore, instantly wrote me a line to the following purport.

“ You are threatened, dear friend, by very imminent danger. Do not sleep to-night at home, but secure yourself at Lord Hyndford's till you hear farther from me.”

Secretary S—n, her confidant, (the same who, not long since, was Russian envoy at Ratisbon) was sent with this note. He found me, after dinner, at the English ambassador's, and called me aside. I read the billet, was astonished at its contents, and shewed it to Lord Hyndford. My conscience was void of reproach, except that we suspected my secret with the countess had been betrayed to the chancellor; and, fearing his jealousy, Hyndford commanded me to remain in his house till we should make further discovery.

We placed spies round the house where I lived: I was inquired for after midnight, and the lieutenant of the police came himself, and searched the house.

Lord Hyndford went, about ten in the morning, to visit the chancellor, that he might obtain some intelligence, who, immediately, reproached him for having granted an asylum to a traitor. “ What has this traitor done?” said Hyndford. “ Faithlessly copied a plan of Cronstadt, from my cabinet drawings,” answered the chancellor, “ which he
“ has

“ has sold, to the Prussian minister, for two hundred ducats.”

Hyndford was astonished ; he knew me well, and also knew that he had then, in money, and jewels, more than eight thousand ducats of mine in his own hands ; nor was he no less ignorant of the little value I set on money, or of the sources whence I could obtain it, when I pleased. “ Has your excellency seen this drawing of Trenck’s ? ” — “ Yes, I have been shewn it by Goltz.” — I wish I might likewise be permitted to see it ; I know Trenck’s drawing, and make myself responsible that he is no traitor. Here is some mystery ; be so kind as to desire M. Goltz will come, and bring his plan of Cronstadt. Trenck is at my house, shall be forth-coming instantly, and I will not protect him, if he proves guilty.”

The chancellor wrote to Goltz, but he, artful as he was, had no doubt, taken care to be informed that the lieutenant of the police had missed his prey. He, therefore, sent an excuse, and did not appear. In the mean time I entered. Hyndford then addressed me, with the openness of an Englishman, and asked — “ Are you a traitor, Trenck ? If so, you do not merit my protection, but stand here a state prisoner. Have you sold a plan of Cronstadt to M. Goltz ? ” My answer may easily be supposed. Hyndford rehearsed what the chancellor had told him, I was desired to leave the room, and Funk was sent for. The moment he came in, Hyndford said, “ Sir, where is that plan of Cronstadt which Trenck copied ? ” Funk, hesitating, replied, “ I will go for it.” “ Have you it,” continued Hyndford, “ at home ? speak upon your honour.” — “ No, my Lord, I have lent it, for a few days, to M. Goltz, that he may take a copy.”

Hyndford, immediately, then, saw the whole affair, told the chancellor the history of this plan, which

which belonged to him, and which he had lent to Funk, and requested a trusty person might be sent with him to make proper search. Bestuchef named his first secretary, and, to him, were added Funk and the Dutch envoy, Schwart, who happened then to enter. All went together to the house of Goltz. Funk, here, demanded his plan of Cronstadt; Goltz gave it him, and Funk returned it to Lord ford.

The secretary, and Hyndford, both then desired he would produce the plan of Cronstadt, which he had bought of Trenck, for two hundred ducats. His confusion now was great, and Hyndford firmly insisted this plan should be forth-coming, to vindicate the honour of Trenck, whom he held to be an honest man. On this Goltz answered, “ I have
“ received my king’s commands to prevent the pre
“ ferment of Trenck, in Russia, and I have only
“ fulfilled the duty of a minister.”

Hyndford spit on the ground, and said more than I now choose to repeat, after which the four gentlemen returned to the chancellor, and I was again called. Every body complimented me, related what had passed, and the chancellor, promised I should be recompensed; strictly, however, forbidding me to take any revenge on the Prussian ambassador, I having sworn, in the first transports of anger, to punish him wherever I should find him, even were it at the altar’s foot.

The chancellor soothed me, kept me to dine with him, and endeavoured to assuage my boiling passions. the countess affected indifference, and asked me if such-like actions characterised the Prussian nation. Funk and Schwart were at table. All present congratulated me on my victory, but none knew to whom I was indebted for deliverance from the hasty and unjust condemnation of the chancellor, although my protectress was one of the company. I received
a present

present of two thousand rubles, the next day, from the chancellor, with orders to thank the Empress for this mark of her bounty, and accept it as a sign of her especial favour. I paid these my thanks some days after. The money I disregarded, but the amiable Empress, by her enchanting benevolence, made me forget the past. The story became public, and Goltz appeared neither in company nor at court. The manner in which the countess, personally, reproached him I shall, out of respect, pass over. Bernes, the crafty Piedmontese, assured me of revenge, without my troubling myself in the matter, and—what happened after I know not: Goltz appeared but little in company, fell ill when I had left Russia, and died soon after, of a consumption.

This vile man was, no doubt, the cause of all the calamities which afterwards fell upon me.* I should have become one of the first men in Russia; the misfortunes that befel Bestuchef, and his family, some years afterward, might have been averted; I should never have returned to Vienna, a city so fatal to the name of Trenck; by the mediation of the Russian court, I should have recovered my great Sclavonian estates; my days of persecution at Vienna, would have been passed in peace and pleasure: nor should I have entered the dungeon of Magdeburg.

How little did the *Great* Frederic know my heart! Without having offended, he had rendered me miserable, had condemned me to imprisonment, at Glatz, on mere suspicion, and, flying thence, naked and destitute, had confiscated my parental inheritance. Not contented with inflicting all these calamities, he would not suffer me, peaceably, to seek my fortune in a foreign land.

* The Baron forgets himself, and continually makes the person, or incident, he is then speaking of the principal and first cause of his future sufferings. They were incurred by a combination of these causes. T.

Few are the youths who, in so short a time, being expelled their native country with disgrace, by their own efforts, merits, and talents, have obtained honour and favour so great, acquired such powerful friends, or been entrusted with confidence equally unlimited in transactions so important. Enraged as I was at the treachery of Goltz, had opportunity offered, I might have been tempted even to turn my native country into a desert; nor do I deny that I, afterward, promoted the views of the Austrian envoy, who knew well to cherish the flame that had been kindled, and turn it to his own use. Till this moment I, certainly, never felt the least enmity, either to my country, or king, nor did I ever suffer myself on any occasion, to be made the agent of their disadvantage.

No sooner was I entrusted, more intimately with cabinet secrets, than I discovered the state of factions, and that Bestuchef and Apraxin were, even then, in Prussian pay; that a counterpoise, by their means, might be formed to the prevalence of the Austrian party.

Hence we may date the change of Russian politics in the year 1762. Here, also, we may find a clue to the contradictory orders, artifices, positions, retreats, and disappointments of the Russian army, in the seven years war.* The countess, who was obliged to act with greater caution, foresaw the consequences of the various intrigues in which her husband was engaged: her love for me naturally drew her from her former party; she confided every secret to me, and ever remained, till her fall, which happened in 1758, during my imprisonment, my best friend and correspondent. Hence was I so well

* Beginning in 1756: so called by the German writers. T.

informed of all the plans against Prussia, to the years 1754 and 1755; much more so than many ministers of the interested courts, who imagined they alone were in the secret. How many after-events could I then have foretold! Such was the perverseness of my destiny, that, where I should most have been sought for, and best known, there was I least valued.

No man, in my youth, would have believed I should live to my sixtieth year, untitled and obscure. In Berlin, Petersburg, London, and Paris, have I been esteemed by the greatest statesmen, and now am I reduced to the invalid list. How strange are the caprices of fortune! I ought never to have left Russia; this was my great error, which I still live to repent.

I have never been accustomed to sleep more than four or five hours, so that, through life, I have allowed time for paying visits and receiving company, I have still had sufficient for study and improvement. Hyndford was my instructor in politics; Boerhaave, then physician to the court, and my bosom friend, my tutor in physic and literary subjects. Women formed me for court intrigues, though these, as a philosopher, I despised.

The chancellor had greatly changed his carriage towards me, since the incident of the plan. He observed my looks and words, shewed he was distrustful, and desirous of revenge. His lady, as well as myself, remarked this, and new measures became necessary. I was obliged to act an artful, but, at the same time, a very dangerous part.

My cousin, Baron Trenck, died, in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749, and left me his heir, on condition I should only serve the house of Austria.—In March, 1750, Count Bernes received the citation sent me to enter on this inheritance. I would

hear nothing of Vienna; the abominable treatment of my cousin terrified me. I well knew the origin of his prosecution, the services he had rendered his country, and had been an eye-witness of the injustice by which he was repaid. Bernes, however, represented that the property left me was worth much above a million; that the Empress would support me in the pursuit of justice, and that I had no personal enemy at Vienna; that a million of certain property, in Hungary, was much superior to the highest expectations in Russia, where I, myself, had beheld so many changes of fortune, and the effects of family cabals. Russia he painted as dangerous, Vienna as secure, and promised me, himself, effectual assistance, as his embassy would end within the year. Were I once rich, I might reside in what country I pleased; nor could the persecutions of Frederic, any where, pursue me so ineffectually as in Austria. Snares would be laid for me every where else, as I had experienced in Russia.——

“What,” said he, “would have been the consequence, had not the countess warned you of the impending danger? You, like many other honest and innocent men, would have been sent to Siberia. Your innocence must have remained unattested, and yourself, in the universal opinion, a villain and a traitor.”

Hyndford spoke to me in the same tone, assured me of his eternal protection, and described London as a certain asylum, should I not find happiness at Vienna. He spoke of slavery as a Briton ought to speak, reminded me of the fate of Munich and Osterman, painted the court such as I knew it to be, and asked, what were my expectations, even were I fortunate enough to become general, or minister, in such a country.

These reasonings, at length, determined me; but, having plenty of money, I thought proper to
take

take Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Holland, in my way; and Bernes was, in the mean time, to prepare me a favourable reception at Vienna. He desired, also, I would give him authority to get possession of the estates to which I was heir. My mistress, strongly, endeavoured to detain me, but yielded, at length, to the force of reason. I tore myself away, and promised, on my honour, to return as soon as I had arranged my affairs at Vienna. She made the proposition of investing me with some foreign embassy, by which I might render the most effectual services to the court of Vienna. In this hope we parted with heavy hearts: she presented me with her portrait, and a snuff-box set with diamonds: the first of these, three years afterward, was torn from my bosom by the officers in my first dungeon at Magdeburg, as I shall, hereafter, relate. The chancellor embraced me, at parting, with friendship. Apraxin wept, and clasped me in his arms, prophesying, at the same time, I should never be so happy as in Russia. I, myself, foreboded misfortune, and quitted Russia with regret, but, still, followed the advice of Hyndford and Bernes.

From Moscow I travelled to Petersburg, where I found a letter at the house of Baron Wolf, the banker, from the countess, which rent my very heart, and almost determined me to return. She endeavoured to terrify me from proceeding to Vienna, yet inclosed a bill for four thousand rubles, to aid me on my journey, were I, absolutely, bent to turn my back on fortune.

My effects, in money and jewels, amounted to about thirty-six thousand florins; I, therefore, returned the draught, intreated her eternal remembrance, and that she would reserve her favour and support to times in which they might become need-
ful.

ful. After remaining a few days at Petersburg, I journeyed, by land, to Stockholm; taking with me letters of recommendation from all the foreign envoys.

I forgot to mention that Funk was inconsolable for my departure; his imprudence had nearly plunged me into misery, and destroyed all my hopes in Russia. Twenty-two years after this I met the worthy man once more in Dresden. He, there, considered himself as the cause of all the evils inflicted on me, and assured me the recital of my sufferings had been so many cutting and bitter reproaches to his soul. Our recapitulation of former times gives us endless pleasure, and it was the sweetest of joys to meet and renew my friendship with such a man, after having weathered so many storms of fate.

At Stockholm I wanted for no recommendation: the Queen, sister to the great Frederic, had known me at Berlin, when I had the honour, as an officer of the body-guard, of accompanying her to Stettin. I related the whole history to her without reserve. She, from political motives, advised me not to make any stay in Stockholm, and to me continued, till death, an ever gracious lady. I proceeded to Copenhagen, where I had business to transact for M. Chaife, the Danish envoy, at Moscow; from whom, also, I had letters of recommendation. Here I had the pleasure of meeting my old friend, Lieutenant Bach, who had aided me in my escape from my imprisonment at Glatz. He was poor, and in debt, and I procured him protection, by relating the noble manner in which he had behaved. I, also, presented him with five hundred ducats, by the aid of which he pushed his fortune. He wrote to me, in the year 1776, a letter of sincerest thanks, and died a colonel of hussars in the Danish service, in 1779.

I remained

I remained in Copenhagen but a fortnight, and then sailed, in a Dutch ship, from Elsinour for Amsterdam. Scarcely had we put to sea before a storm arose, by which we lost a mast and our bowsprit, had our sails shattered, and were obliged to cast anchor among the rocks of Gottenburg, where our deliverance was singularly fortunate.

Here we lay nine days before we could make the open sea, and here I found a very pleasant amusement, by going, daily, in the ship's boat, from rock to rock, attended by two of my servants, to shoot wild ducks, and catch shell-fish; whence I, every evening, returned with provisions, and sheep's milk, bought of the poor inhabitants for the ship's crew.

There was a dearth among these poor people. Our vessel was laden with corn; some of this I purchased, to the amount of some hundreds of Dutch florins, and distributed wherever I went. I, also, gave one of their ministers a hundred florins for his poor congregation, who was, himself, in want of bread, and whose annual stipend did not amount to one hundred and fifty florins.

Here, in the sweet pleasure of doing good, I left behind me much of that money I had so easily acquired in Russia; and perhaps, had we staid much longer, should, myself, have left the place in poverty. A thousand blessings followed me, and the storm-driven Trenck was long remembered and talked of at Gottenburg.

In this worthy employment, however, I had nearly lost my life. Returning from carrying corn, the wind rose, and drove the boat to sea. I not understanding the management of the helm, and the servant awkwardly handling the sails, the boat, in tacking, was overset. The benefit of learning to swim I again experienced, and my faithful servant, who had gained the rock, aided me when almost spent. The good people, who had seen the shallop
overset,

overfet, came off, in their boats, to my affiftance. An honeft Calmuc, whom I had brought from Ruffia, and another of my fervants, perifted. I faw the firft fink after I had reached the fhore.

The kind Swedes brought me on board, and, alfo, righted and returned with the fhallow. We weighed anchor, and failed for the Texel, the mouth of which we faw and the pilots coming off when another ftorm rofe, and drove us to the port of Bahus, in Norway, into which we ran, without farther damage. In fome few days we, again, fet fail, with a fair wind, and at length reached Amfterdam.

Here I made no long ftay, for, the day after my arrival, an extraordinary adventure happened, in which I was engaged, chiefly, by my own rafhnefs.

I was a fpectator while the harpooners, belonging to the whale fifhery, were exercifing themfelves in darting their harpoons, moft of whom were drunk. One of them, Herman Rogaar by name, a hero among thefe people for his dexterity with his fnickafnee, came up, and paffed fome of his coarfe jokes upon my Turkish fabre, and offered to fillip me on the nofe. I pushed him from me, and the fellow threw down his cap, drew his fnickafnee, challenged me, called me monkey-tail, and asked whether I chofe a ftraight, a circular, or a crofs cut.

Thus, here, was I, in this excellent company, with no choice but that of either fighting or running away. The robuft, Herculean fellow grew more insolent, and I, turning round to the by-ftanders, asked them to lend me a fnickafnee: "No, no," faid the challenger, "draw your great knife from your fide, and, long as it is, I will lay you a dozen ducats you get a gafh in the cheek." I drew; he confidently advanced with his fnickafnee, and, at the firft ftroke of my fabre, that, and the hand that held it, both dropt to the ground, and the blood fouted in my face.

I now

I now expected the people would, indubitably, tear me to pieces; but my fear was changed into astonishment at hearing a universal shout applauding the vanquisher of the redoubted Herman Rogaar, who, so lately feared for his strength and dexterity, became the object of their ridicule. A Jew spectator conducted me out of the crowd, and the people, clamorously, followed me to my inn. This kind of duel, by which I gained honour, would, any where else, have brought me to the highest disgrace. A man, who knew the use of the sabre, in a single day, might, certainly, have disabled a hundred Herman Rogaars. This story may instruct and warn others. He that is quarrellsome shall never want an enemy. My temerity often engaged me in disputes which, by timely compliance and calmness, might easily have been avoided, but my evil genius always impelled me into the paths of perplexity, and I seldom saw danger till it was inevitable.

I left Amsterdam for the Hague, where I had been recommended to Lord Holderness, the English ambassador, by Lord Hyndford; to Baron Reischach, by Bernes; to the Grand Pensionary Fagel, by Schwart; and, from the chancellor, I had a letter to the Prince of Orange himself. I could not, therefore, but be every where received with all possible distinction. With these recommendations, and the knowledge I possessed, had I had the good fortune to have avoided Vienna, and gone to India, where talents would have insured me wealth, how many tears of affliction had I been spared! My ill fortune, however, had brought me letters from Count Bernes, assuring me that heaven was at Vienna, and including a citation from the high court, requiring me to give in my claim of inheritance. Bernes farther informed me the Austrian court had assured him I should meet with all justice and protection, and advised me to hasten my journey, as the executorship
of

of the estates of Trenck was conducted but little to my advantage.

This advice I took, proceeded to Vienna, and, from that moment, all my happiness had an end. I became bewildered in law-suits, and the arts of wicked men, and all possible calamities assailed me, at once, the recital of which would, itself, afford subject matter for a history. They began by the following incidents.

One M. Schenck sought my acquaintance at the Hague. I met with him at my hotel, where he intreated I would take him to Nuremberg, whence he was to proceed to Saxony. I complied, and bore his expences; but, at Hanau, waking in the morning, I found my watch set with diamonds, a ring worth two thousand rubles, a diamond snuff-box, with my mistress's picture, and my purse, containing about eighty ducats, stolen from my bed-side, and Schenck become invisible. Little affected by the loss of money, at any time, I yet was grieved for my snuff-box. The rascal, however, had escaped, and it was fortunate that the remainder of my ready money, with my bills of exchange, were safely locked up.

I, now, pursued my journey without company, and arrived in Vienna. I cannot, exactly, recollect in what month, but I had been absent about two years; and the reader will allow that it was barely possible for any man, in so short a time, to have experienced more various changes of fate, though many smaller incidents have been suppressed. The places, where my pledged fidelity required discretion, will be easily supposed, as, likewise, will the concealment of court intrigues, and artifices, the publication of which might, even yet, subject me to more persecutions. All writers are not permitted to speak truth of monarchs and ministers. I am the father of eight children, and parental love and duty vanquish the inclination of the author, and
this

this duty, this affection, have made me particularly cautious in relating what happened to me at Vienna, that I might, thereby, serve them more effectually than by indulging the pride of the writer, or the vengeance of the man.

Since accounts so various, contradictory, and dishonourable, to the name of Trenck, have been circulated, in Vienna, concerning facts which happened thirty-seven years ago, I will, here, give a short abstract of them, and such as may be verified by the records of the court. I pledge my honour to the truth of the statement, and, were I so allowed, would prove it, to the conviction of any unprejudiced court of justice; but this I cannot hope, as princes are much more disposed to bestow unmerited favours than to make retribution to those whom they have unjustly punished.

Francis Baron Trenck died, in the Spielberg, October 4, 1749. It has been erroneously believed, in Vienna, that his estates were confiscated by the sentence which condemned him to the Spielberg. He had committed no offence against the state, was accused of none, much less convicted. The court sentence was, that the administration of his estate should be committed to Counsellor Kempf and Baron Peyaczewitz, who were selected by himself, and the accounts of his stewards and farmers were to be sent him yearly. He continued, till his death, to have the free and entire disposal of his property.

Although, before his death, he sent for his advocate, Doctor Berger, and, by him, petitioned the Empress she would issue the necessary orders to the governor of the Spielberg, to permit the entrance of witnesses, and all things necessary to make a legal will, it by no means follows that he petitioned her for permission to make this will. The case is too clear to admit of doubt. The royal commands were given that he should enjoy all freedom of making his

his will. Permission was also given that, during his sickness, he might be removed to the capuchin convent, which was equal to liberty, but this he refused to accept.

Neither was his ability to make a will questioned. The advocate was only to request the Queen's permission to supply some formalities, which had been neglected, when he purchased the lordships of Velika and Nuſtar, which petition was, likewise, granted. The royal mandate ſtill exiſts, which commiſſioned the perſons therein named as truſtees to the eſtate and effects of Trenck, and this mandate runs thus: "Let the laſt will of Trenck be duly executed; let diſpatch be uſed, and the heir protected in all his rights." Confiſcation, therefore, had never been thought of, nor his power to make a will diſputed.

I will now ſhew how I have been deprived of this valuable inheritance, while I have been obliged to pay about ſixty thouſand florins, to defray legacies he had left; and, when this narrative is read, it will no longer be affirmed at Vienna, that, by the favours of the court, I inherited ſeventy ſix thouſand florins, or the lordſhip of Zwerbach, from Trenck. I ſhall proceed to my proofs.

The father of Baron Trenck, who died in the year 1743, governor of Leiſchau, in Hungary, named me, in his will, the ſucceſſor of his ſon, ſhould he die without heirs male.

This will was ſent to be proved, according to form, at Vienna, after having been authenticated, in the moſt legal manner, in Hungary. The court called Hofkriegsrath, at Vienna, neglected to provide a curator, for the ſecurity of the next heir; yet this could not annul my right of ſucceſſion. When Trenck ſucceeded his father, he entered no proteſt to this his father's will, therefore dying without children, in the year 1749, my claim was indisputable.

disputable. I was heir, had he made no will: and even in case of confiscation, my title to his father's estates still remained valid.

Trenck knew this but too well: he, as I have before related, was my worst enemy, and even attempted my life. I will, therefore, proceed to shew the real intent of this his crafty testament.

Determined no longer to live in confinement, or to ask forgiveness, by which, it is well known, he might have obtained his freedom, having lost all hopes of reimbursing his losses, his avarice was reduced to despair. His desire of fame was unbounded, and this could no way now be gratified but by having himself canonized for a saint, after spending his life in committing all the ravages of a pandour. Hence originated the following facts:

He knew I was the legal claimant to his father's estates. His father had bought, with the family money, remitted from Prussia, the lordships of Prestowacz and Pleternitz, in Sclavonia, and he, himself, during his father's life, and with his father's money, had purchased the lordship of Pakratz, for forty thousand florins; this must, therefore, descend also to me, he having no more power to will this from me than he had the remainder of his paternal inheritance. The property he himself had gained was consigned to administrators, but a hundred thousand florins had been expended in law suits, and sixty three suits continued, actually, pending against him in court; the legacies he bequeathed amounted to eighty thousand florins. These, he saw, could not be paid, should I claim nothing more than the paternal inheritance; he, therefore, to render me unfortunate after his death, craftily named me his universal heir, without mentioning his father's will, but endeavoured, by his mysterious death, and the following conditions, to enforce the execution of his own will.

First,

First, I was to become a catholic.

Secondly.—I was to serve only the house of Austria; and,

Lastly.—He made his whole estate, without excepting the paternal inheritance, a *Fidei commissum*.

Hence arose all my misfortunes, as, indeed, was his intention; for, but a short time before his death, he said to the governor, Baron Kottulinsky, “ I shall now die contented, since I have been “ able to trick my cousin, and render him “ wretched.”

His death, believed in Vienna to be miraculous, happened after the following manner; and by this he had induced many weak people, who really believed him a saint, to further his views.

Three days before his death, while in perfect health, he desired the governor of the Spielberg would send for his confessor, for that Saint Francis had revealed to him he should be removed into life everlasting, on his birth day at twelve o'clock. The capuchin was sent for, but the prediction laughed at.

The day, however, after the departure of his confessor, he said, “ Praise be to God, my end approaches; my confessor is dead, and has appeared to me.” Strange as it may seem, it was actually found to be true, that the priest was dead. He now had all the officers of the garrison of Brunn assembled, tonsured his head like a capuchin, took the habit of the order, publicly confessed himself, in a sermon of an hour's length, exhorted them all to holiness, acted the part of a most exemplary penitent, embraced all present, spoke with a smile of insignificance of all earthly possessions, took his leave, knelt down to prayers, slept calmly, rose, prayed again, and, about eleven in the forenoon, October 4th, taking his watch in his hand, said, “ Thanks be to my God, my last hour approaches.”

All

All laughed at such a farce from a man of such a character; yet they remarked that the left side of his face grew pale. He then leaned his arm on the table, prayed, and remained motionless, with his eyes closed. The clock struck twelve—no signs of life or motion could be discovered; they spoke to him, and found he was really dead.

The word miracle was echoed through the whole country, and the transmigration of the Pandour Trenck, from earth to heaven, by St. Francis, proclaimed. The clue to this labyrinth of miracles, known only to me, is truly as follows:

He possessed the secret of what is called the *aqua toffana*, and had determined on death. His confessor had been intrusted with all his secrets, and with promissory notes, which he wished to invalidate. I am perfectly certain that he had returned a promissory note, of a great prince, given for two hundred thousand florins, which has never been brought to account. The confessor, therefore, was to be provided for, that Trenck might not be betrayed, and a dose of poison was given him before he set off for Vienna: his death was the consequence. He took similar means with himself, and thus knew the hour of his exit: finding he could not become the first on earth, he wished to be adored as a saint in heaven. He knew he should work miracles when dead, because he ordered a chapel to be built, willed a perpetual mass, and bequeathed the capuchins sixty thousand florins.

Thus died this most extraordinary man, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, to whom nature had denied none of her gifts; who had been the scourge of Bavaria; the terror of France; and who had, with his supposed contemptible pandours, taken above six thousand Prussian prisoners. He lived a tyrant and enemy of men, and died a sanctified impostor.

Such

Such was the state of affairs, aswilled by Trenck, when I came to Vienna, in 1750, where I arrived with money and jewels to the amount of twenty thousand florins.

Instead of profiting by the wealth Trenck had acquired, I expended a hundred and twenty thousand florins of my own money, including what devolved to me from my uncle, his father, in the prosecution of his suits. Trenck had paid two hundred ducats, to the tribunal of Vienna, in the year 1743, to procure its very reprehensible silence concerning a curator, to which I was sacrificed, as the new judges of this court refused to correct the error of their predecessors. Such are the proceedings of courts of justice in Vienna.

On my first audience, no one could be received more kindly than I was, by the Empress Queen. She spoke of my deceased cousin with much emotion and esteem, promised me all grace and favour, and informed me of the particular recommendations she had received, on my behalf, from Count Bernes. Finding sixty-three causes hung over my head, in consequence of the inheritance of Trenck, to obtain justice in any one of which, at Vienna, would have employed the whole life of an honest man, I determined to renounce this inheritance, and claim only under the will, and as the heir of my uncle.

With this view I applied for, and obtained, a copy of that will, with which I personally appeared, and declared to the court that I renounced the inheritance of Francis Trenck, would undertake none of his suits, nor be responsible for his legacies, and required only his father's estates, according to the legal will, which I produced; that is to say, the three lordships of Pakratz, Prestowacz, and Pleternitz, without chattels or personal effects. Nothing could be more just or incontrovertible than this claim. What was my astonishment, to be told,

in open court, that her Majesty had declared I must either wholly perform the articles of the will of Trenck, or be excluded the intire inheritance and have nothing further to hope. What could be done? I ventured to remonstrate, but the will of the court was determined and absolute; I must become a Roman Catholic.

In this extremity, I bribed a priest, who gave me a signed attestation, "That I had abjured the accursed heresy of Lutheranism." My religion, however, remained what it had ever been. General Bernes, about this time, returned from his embassy, and I related to him the lamentable state in which I found my affairs. He spoke to the Empress in my behalf, and she promised every thing. He advised me to have patience, to perform all that was required of me, and to make myself responsible for the depending suits. Some family concerns obliged him, as he informed me, to make a journey to Turin, but his return would be speedy; he would then take the management of my affairs upon himself, and insure my good fortune in Austria. Bernes loved me as his son, and I had reason to hope, from his assurance, I should be largely remembered in his will, which was the more probable, as he had neither child nor relations. He parted from me, like a father, with tears in his eyes; but he had scarcely been absent six weeks before the news arrived of his death, which, if report may be credited, was effected by poison, administered by *a friend*. Ever the sport of fortune, thus were my supporters snatched from me, at the very moment they became most necessary.

The same year was I, likewise, deprived by death, of my friend and protector, Field Marshal Konigseck, governor of Vienna, when he had determined to interest himself in my behalf. I have been beloved by the greatest men Austria has produced,

Such was the state of affairs, as willed by Trenck, when I came to Vienna, in 1750, where I arrived with money and jewels to the amount of twenty thousand florins.

Instead of profiting by the wealth Trenck had acquired, I expended a hundred and twenty thousand florins of my own money, including what devolved to me from my uncle, his father, in the prosecution of his suits. Trenck had paid two hundred ducats, to the tribunal of Vienna, in the year 1743, to procure its very reprehensible silence concerning a curator, to which I was sacrificed, as the new judges of this court refused to correct the error of their predecessors. Such are the proceedings of courts of justice in Vienna.

On my first audience, no one could be received more kindly than I was, by the Empress Queen. She spoke of my deceased cousin with much emotion and esteem, promised me all grace and favour, and informed me of the particular recommendations she had received, on my behalf, from Count Bernes. Finding sixty-three causes hung over my head, in consequence of the inheritance of Trenck, to obtain justice in any one of which, at Vienna, would have employed the whole life of an honest man, I determined to renounce this inheritance, and claim only under the will, and as the heir of my uncle.

With this view I applied for, and obtained, a copy of that will, with which I personally appeared, and declared to the court that I renounced the inheritance of Francis Trenck, would undertake none of his suits, nor be responsible for his legacies, and required only his father's estates, according to the legal will, which I produced; that is to say, the three lordships of Pakratz, Prestowacz, and Pleternitz, without chattels or personal effects. Nothing could be more just or incontrovertible than this claim. What was my astonishment, to be told,

in open court, that her Majesty had declared I must either wholly perform the articles of the will of Trenck, or be excluded the intire inheritance and have nothing further to hope. What could be done? I ventured to remonstrate, but the will of the court was determined and absolute; I must become a Roman Catholic.

In this extremity, I bribed a priest, who gave me a signed attestation, "That I had abjured the accursed heresy of Lutheranism." My religion, however, remained what it had ever been. General Bernes, about this time, returned from his embassy, and I related to him the lamentable statè in which I found my affairs. He spoke to the Empress in my behalf, and she promised every thing. He advised me to have patience, to perform all that was required of me, and to make myself responsible for the depending suits. Some family concerns obliged him, as he informed me, to make a journey to Turin, but his return would be speedy; he would then take the management of my affairs upon himself, and insure my good fortune in Austria. Bernes loved me as his son, and I had reason to hope, from his assurance, I should be largely remembered in his will, which was the more probable, as he had neither child nor relations. He parted from me, like a father, with tears in his eyes; but he had scarcely been absent six weeks before the news arrived of his death, which, if report may be credited, was effected by poison, administered by *a friend*. Ever the sport of fortune, thus were my supporters snatched from me, at the very moment they became most necessary.

The same year was I, likewise, deprived by death, of my friend and protector, Field Marshal Konigseck, governor of Vienna, when he had determined to interest himself in my behalf. I have been beloved by the greatest men Austria has produced,

but, unfortunately, have been persecuted by the chicanery of pettifoggers, fools, fanatics, and priests, who have deprived me of the favour of my empress, guiltless, as I was, of crime or deceit, and left my old age in poverty.

My ills were increased by a new accident. Soon after the departure of Bernes, the Prussian minister, taking me aside, in the house of the Palatine envoy, M. Beckers, proposed my return to Berlin, assured me the King had forgotten all that was past, was convinced of my innocence, that my good fortune would there be certain, and he pledged his honour to recover the inheritance of Trenck. I answered, the favour came too late; I had suffered injustice too flagrant, in my own country, and that I would trust no prince on earth, whose will might annihilate all the rights of men. My good faith to the King had been too ill repaid; my talents might gain me bread in any part of the world, and I would not again subject myself to the danger of unmerited imprisonment.

His persuasions were strong but ineffectual: "My dear Trenck," said he, "God is my judge, that my intentions are honest; I will pledge myself that my sovereign will insure your fortune: you do not know Vienna, you will lose all by the suits in which you are involved, and will be persecuted, because you do not carry a rosary."

How often have I repented I did not then return to Berlin! I should have escaped ten years imprisonment, should have recovered the estates of Trenck; should not have wasted my prime of life in the litigation of suits, and the writing of memorials, and should certainly have been ranked among the first men in my native country. Vienna was no place for a man who could not fawn and flatter; yet here was I destined to remain six and thirty years, unrewarded,

unrewarded, unemployed, and, through youth and age, to continue on the list of invalid majors.

Having rejected the proposition of the Prussian envoy, all my hopes in Vienna were ruined; for Frederic, by his residents and emissaries, knew how to effect whatever he pleased, in foreign courts, and determined that the Trenck, who would no longer serve, or confide in him, should, at least, find no opportunity of serving against him: I soon became painted, to the Empress, as an arch heretic, who never would be faithful to the house of Austria, and only endeavoured to obtain the inheritance of Trenck, that he might devote himself to Prussia. This I shall hereafter prove, and display a scene that shall be the disgrace of many, by whom the Empress was induced to harbour unjust suspicions of an able and honest man. I here stand, erect and confident, before the world, publish the truth, and take everlasting shame to myself, if any man on earth can prove me guilty of one treacherous thought. I owe no thanks, for so far from having received favours, I have six and thirty years remained unable to obtain justice, though I have all the while been desirous of shedding my blood in defence of the monarchy where I have been thus treated. Till the year 1746, I was equally zealous and faithful to Prussia, yet my estates there, though confiscated, were liable to recovery; in Hungary, on the contrary, the sentence of confiscation is irrevocable. This is a remarkable proof in favour of my honour, and my children's claims.

Surely no reader will be offended at these digressions: my mind is agitated, my feelings are roused, remembering that my age and grey hairs deprive me of the sweet hope of, at length, vanquishing opposition, either by patience, or forcing justice, by eminent services, or noble efforts.

This my history will never reach a monarch's eye, consequently, no monarch, by perceiving, will be

induced to protect truth. It may, indeed, be criticised by the literati; it will certainly be decried by my persecutors, who, through life, have been my false accusers, and will probably, therefore, be prohibited by the priests.—All Germany, however, will read, and posterity, perhaps, may pity, should my book escape the misfortune of being classed among improbable romances; to which it is the more liable, because that the biographers of Frederic and Maria Theresa, for manifest reasons, have never so much as mentioned the name of Trenck.

Once more to my story: I was now obliged to declare myself heir, but always *cum reservatione juris mei*, not as simply claiming under the will of Francis Trenck. I was obliged to take upon myself the management of the sixty three suits, and the expence attending any one of these are well known to those acquainted with Vienna. My situation may be imagined, when I inform the reader I only received, from the whole estate of Trenck, 3600 florins, in three years, which were scarcely sufficient to defray the expence of new year's gifts, to the solicitors, and masters in chancery. How did I labour in stating and transcribing proofs for the court! The money I possessed soon vanished. My Prussian relations supported me, and the Countess Bestuchef sent me the four thousand rubles I had refused at Petersburg. I had also remittances from my faithful mistress in Prussia, and in addition, was obliged to borrow money at the usurious rate of sixty per cent. Bewildered, as I was, among lawyers and knaves, my ambition still prompted me to proceed, and all things are possible to labour and perseverance; but my property was expended, and, at length, I could only obtain that the contested estates should be made a *Fidei commissum*, or put under trust, whereby, though they were protected from being the further prey of others, I did not inherit them as mine.

In this pursuit was my prime of life wasted, which might have been profitably and honourably spent.

In three years, however, I brought my sixty three suits to a kind of conclusion; the probabilities were, this could not have been effected in fifty. Exclusive of my assiduity, the means I took must not be told; it is sufficient that I here learnt what judges were, and thus am enabled to describe them to others.

For a few ducats, the president's servant used to admit me into a closet where I could see every thing as perfectly as if I had myself been one of the council. This, often, was useful, and taught me to prevent evil, and, often, was I scarcely able to refrain bursting in upon this court.

Their appointed hour of meeting was nine in the morning, but they seldom assembled before eleven. The president then told his beads, and muttered his prayers. Some one got up and harangued, while the remainder, in pairs, amused themselves with talking, instead of listening, after which the news of the day became the common topic of conversation, and the council broke up, the court being first adjourned some three weeks, without coming to any determination.—This was called *Judicium delegatum in causis Trenckianis*; and when, at last, they came to a conclusion, the sentence was such as I shall ever shudder at and abhor.

The real estates of Trenck consisted in the great Slavonian manors, called the lordships of Pakratz, Prestowakz, and Pleternitz, which he had inherited from his father, and were the family property, together with Velika and Nustak, which he, himself, had purchased; the annual income of these was 60000 florins, and they contained more than two hundred villages and hamlets. The laws of Hungary require,
1st, That those who purchase estates, shall obtain the *consensus regius* (royal consent).

2d, That

2d, That the seller shall possess, and make over the right of property, together with that of transferring, or alienating, and

3dly, That the purchaser shall be a native born, or have bought his naturalization.

In default of all or any of these, the Fiscus, on the death of the purchaser, takes possession, repaying the *summa emptitia*, or purchase money, together with what can be shown to have been laid out in improvements, or the *summa inscriptitia*, the sum at which it stands rated in the fiscal register.

Without form, or notice, the Hungarian Fiscal President, Count Grassalkowitz, took possession of all the Trenck estates on his decease, in the name of the Fiscus. The prize was great, not so much because of the estates themselves, as the personal property upon them. Trenck had sent loads of merchandize to his estates, of linen, ingots of gold and silver, from Bavaria, Alsatia, and Silesia. He had a vast store-house of arms, and of saddles; also the great silver service of the Emperor Charles VII. which he had brought from Munich, with the service of plate of the King of Prussia; and the personal property on these estates was affirmed, considerably, to exceed in value the estates themselves.

I was not long since, informed, by one of the first generals, whose honour is undoubted, that several waggons were loaded with these rich effects, and sent to Mihalefze. His testimony was indubitable; he knew the two Pandours, who were the confidants of Trenck, and the keepers of his treasures, and these, during the general plunder, each seized a bag of pearls, and fled to Turkey, where they became wealthy merchants. His rich studs of horses were taken, and the very cows driven off the farms. His stand of arms consisted of more than three thousand rare pieces. Trenck had affirmed, he had sent linen to the value of fifty thousand florins,

rins, in chests, from Dannhausen and Gersdorf, in the county of Glatz, to his estates; the pillage was general, and when orders came to send all the property of Trenck, and deliver it to his universal heir, nothing remained that any person would accept. I have myself seen, in a certain Hungarian nobleman's house, some valuable arms, which I positively knew I had been robbed of; and I bought at Esseck, some silver plates on which were the arms of Prussia, that had been sold by counsellor D—n, who had been empowered to take possession of these estates, and had thus rendered himself rich. Of this I procured an attestation, and proved the theft: I complained aloud at Vienna, but received an order, from the court, to be silent, under pain of displeasure, and also to go no more into Sclavonia.—The principal reason of my loss of the landed property in Hungary was my having dared to make inquiries concerning the personal, not one guinea of which was ever brought to account. I then proved my right to the family estates, left by my uncle, beyond all dispute, and also of those purchased by my cousin. The commissioners, appointed to inquire into these rights, even confirmed them, yet, after they had been thus established, I received the following order from the court, in the hand of the Empress herself. “The president, Count Grassalkowitz, takes it upon his conscience that the Sclavonian estates do not descend to Trenck, *in natura*, he must, therefore, receive the *summa emptitia & inscriptitia*, together with the money he can shew to have been expended in improvements.”

And herewith ended my pleadings and my hopes.—I had sacrificed my property, laboured through sixty three inferior suits, and lost this great cause without a trial. I could have remained satisfied with

with the loss of the personal property: the booty of a foldier, like the wealth amassed by a minister, appears to me little better than a public robbery; but the acquirements of my ancestors, which descended to me by right, I could not be deprived of, without excessive cruelty. Oh patience! Patience! — Yet, shall my children never become the footmen, or grooms, of those who have robbed them of their inheritance; and to them I bequeath my rights in all their power: nor shall any man prevent my crying aloud, so long as justice shall not be done.

The president, it is true, did not, immediately, possess himself of the estates, but he took good care his friends should have them at such rates, that the sale of them did not bring the fiscal treasury 150,000 dollars, while I, in real and personal property, lost a million and a half; nay, probably, a sum equal to this in personal property alone.

The *summa inscriptitia*, & *emptitia*, for all these great estates, only amounted to 149,000 florins, and this was to be paid by the chamber, but the president thought proper to deduct 10,000, on pretence the cattle had been driven off the estate of Pakratz; and further 36,000 more, under the shameful pretence that Trenck, to recruit his pandours, had drained the estates of 3600 vassals, who had never returned; the estates, therefore, must make them good at the rate of thirty florins per head, which would have amounted to 108,000 florins; but, with much difficulty this sum was reduced as above stated, to 36,000 florins, each vassal reckoned at ten florins per head. Thus was I obliged, from the property of my family, to pay for 3600 men, who had gloriously died in war, in defence of the contested rights of the great Maria Theresa; who had raised so many millions of contributions for her in countries

countries of her enemies; who, sword in hand, had stormed and taken so many towns, and dispersed, or taken prisoners, so many thousands of her foes. Would this be believed by listening nations?

All deductions made for legacies, fees, and formalities, there remained to me 63,000 florins, with which I purchased the lordship of Zwerbach, and I was obliged to pay 6000 florins for my naturalization. Thus, when the sums are enumerated which I expended on the suits of Trenck, received from my friends at Berlin and Petersburg, it will be found that I cannot, at least, have been a gainer by having been made the universal heir of the immensely rich Trenck. With regret I write these truths, in support of my children's claims, that they may not, in my grave, reproach me for having neglected the duty of a father.

I will, here, add a few particulars which may afford the reader matter for meditation, cause him to commiserate my fate, and give a picture of the manner in which the prosecution was carried on against Trenck.

One Schygrai, a silly kind of beggarly baron, who was treated as a buffoon, was invited, in the year 1743, to dine with Baron Pejaczewitz, when Trenck happened to be present. The conversation happened to turn on brandy, and Trenck, jocularly, said he annually distilled brandy, from cow-dung, to the value of thirty thousand florins.——Schygrai supposed him serious, and wished to learn the art, which Trenck promised to teach him. Pejaczewitz told him he could give him thirty thousand load of dung. “But where shall I get the wood?” said Schygrai. “I will give you thirty thousand klafters,” answered Trenck. The credulous baron, thinking himself very fortunate, desired written promises, which they gave him; and that

that of Trenck ran thus: "I hereby permit and
 "empower Baron Schygrai to fell, gratis, in the
 "forest of Tscherra Horra, thirty thousand klaf-
 "ters of wood. Witness my hand,

"TRENCK."

Trenck was no sooner dead than the Baron brought his note, and made application to the court. His attorney was the noted Buffy, and the court decreed the estates of Trenck should pay at the rate of one florin thirty kreutzers per klafter, or forty-five thousand florins, with all costs, and an order was given the administrators to pay the money.

Just at this time I arrived at Vienna, from Peterburg. Doctor Berger, the advocate of Trenck, told me the affair would admit of no delay. I hastened to the Empress, and obtained an order to delay payment. An enquiry was instituted, and this forest of Tscherra Horra was found to be situated in Turkey. The absurdity and injustice were flagrant, and it was revoked. I cannot say how much of these forty-five thousand florins the Baron had promised to the noble judge and the attorney. I only know that neither of them was punished. Had not some holidays, luckily intervened, or had the attorney expected my arrival, the money would have been paid, and an ineffectual attempt to obtain retribution would have been the consequence, as happened in many similar instances.

I have before mentioned the advertisement inviting all who had any demands or complaints against Trenck to appear, with the promise of a ducat a day; and it is here proper to add, that the sum of fifteen thousand florins were brought to account, and paid out of the estates of Trenck. For this shameful purpose some thousands of florins were paid, beside, to this species of claimants; and, though

though after examination, their pretensions all proved to be futile, and themselves were cast in damages, yet was none of this money ever refunded, or the false claimants punished. Among these the pretended daughter of General Schwerin received two thousand florins, notorious as was her character. Again: Trenck was accused of having appropriated the money of the regiment to his own use, and treated as if convicted. After his death a considerable demand was, accordingly, made. I happening, however, to meet with Ruckhardt, his quarter-master, he, with asseverations, declared that, instead of being indebted to his regiment, the regiment was more than a hundred thousand florins indebted to him, advised me to get attestations from the captains, and assured me he, himself, would give in a clear statement of the regiment's accounts.

I followed his advice, hastened to the regiment, and obtained so many proofs that the quarter-master of the regiment, who, in concurrence with the major, had, in reality, pocketed the money, was imprisoned, and put in irons. What became of the thief, or the false witness afterward, I know not: I only know that nothing was refunded, that the quarter-master found protectors, detained the money, and, some years after this vile action, purchased a commission. One instance more.

Trenck, to the corps of infantry, he commanded, added a corps of hussars, which he raised, and provided with horses and accoutrements at his own expence. These hussars were disbanded after his death, and the horses and accoutrements sold by auction. My demand, on this account, was upward of sixty thousand florins; to which I received neither money nor reply. He had also expended a hundred thousand florins, for raising and equipping his three thousand pandours; in consequence of which

which a signed agreement had been given him, by government, that these hundred thousand florins should be repaid to his heir, or he, the heir, should receive the command of the regiment. The regiment, however, at his decease, was given to General Simschen, and, as for the agreement, care was taken it should never come into my hands. Thus these hundred thousand florins were lost.

Yet has it been wickedly affirmed he was imprisoned in the Spielberg for having embezzled the regiment's money; whereas, I would to God I only was in possession of the sums he expended on this regiment; but he considered the regiment as his own, and, great as was his avarice, still greater was his desire of fame, and greater still his love for his Empress, for whom he would gladly have yielded both property and life.

With respect to the money that was to have been repaid for improvement of the estates, I must add these estates were bought at a time when the country had been left desolate by the Turks, and the re-instatement of such places as had fallen into their hands, and the erecting of farm-houses, mills, stocking them with horses, cattle, and seed corn, according to my poor estimate, could not amount to less than eighty thousand florins; but I was forbidden to go into Sclavonia, and the president offered, as an indemnification, four thousand florins.—Every body was astonished; but he, with the utmost coolness, told me I must either accept this or nothing. The hearers of this sentence cast their eyes up to heaven, and pitied me. I remonstrated, and thereby only made the matter worse. Grief and anxiety occasioned me to take a journey into Italy, passing through Venice, Rome, and Florence.

On my return to Vienna, I, by a friendly interference in behalf of a woman, whose fears, rather than

than guilt, had brought her into danger, became suspected myself, and the very officious officers of the police had me imprisoned, as a coiner, without the least grounds for any such accusation, except their own surmises. I was detained, unheard, nine days, and when having been heard, I had entirely justified myself, was again restored to liberty: public declaration was then made, in the Gazette, that the officers of the police had acted too precipitately.

This was the satisfaction granted, but this did not content me. I threatened the counsellor by whom my character had been so aspersed; and the Empress, condescending to mediate, bestowed on me a captainship of cavalry, in the Cordova Cuirassiers.

Such was the recompense I received for wounds so deep, and such the neglect into which I was thrown at Vienna. Discontent led me to join my regiment in Hungary.

Here I gained the applause of my colonel, Count Bettoni, who, himself, told the Empress I, more than any other, had contributed to the forming of the regiment. It may well be imagined how a man like me, accustomed, as I had been, to the first company of the first courts, must pass my time among the Carpathian mountains, where neither society nor good books were to be found, nor knowledge, of which I was enamoured, improved. The conversation of Count Bettoni, and the chace, together with the love of the general of the regiment, old Field-marshal Cordova, were my only resources; the persecutions, neglect, and even contempt, I received at Vienna, were still the same.

In the year 1754, and the month of March, my mother died in Prussia, and I requested permission of the court that held the inheritance of Trenck, as a *fidei commissum*, to make a journey to Dantzic, to settle

settle some family affairs with my brothers and sister, my estates being confiscated. This permission was granted, and thither I went in May, where I, once more, fell into the hands of the Prussians, which forms the second great, and still more gloomy epocha in my life. All who read what follows will shudder, will commiserate him who, feeling himself innocent, relates afflictions he has miserably encountered, and gloriously overcome.

I left Hungary, where I was in garrison, for Dantzic, where I had desired my brothers and sister to meet me, that we might settle our affairs. My principal intent, however, was a journey to Petersburg, there to seek the advice and aid of my friends, for law and persecution were not yet ended at Vienna, and my captain's pay, and small income, were scarcely sufficient to defray the charges of attornies and counsellors.

It is here most worthy of remark that I was told, by prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, governor of Magdeburg, he had received orders to prepare my prison, at Magdeburg, before I set out from Hungary.

Nay, more, it had been written, from Vienna to Berlin, that the King must beware of Trenck, for that he would be at Dantzic at the time when the King was to visit his camp in Prussia.

What thing more vile, what contrivance more abominable could the wickedest wretch on earth find to banish a man his country, that he might securely enjoy the property of which the other had been robbed!—That this was done, I have living witnesses in his Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, and the Berlin ministry, from whose mouths I learned this artifice of villainy. It is the more necessary to establish this truth, because that no one can comprehend why the *Great Frederic* should have proceeded against me in a manner so cruel as, when it comes to be related,

lated, must raise the indignation of the just, and move hearts of iron to commiserate.

Men so vile, so wicked, as I have described them, in conjunction with one Weingarten, secretary to Count Puebla, then Austrian minister at Berlin, have brought on me these my misfortunes.

This was the Weingarten, who, as is now well known, betrayed all the secrets of the Austrian court to Frederic, who, at length, was discovered in the year 1756, and who, when the war broke out, remained in the service of Prussia. This same Weingarten, also, not only caused my wretchedness, but my sister's ruin and death; as he, likewise, did the punishment and death of three innocent men, which will hereafter be shewn.

It is an incontrovertible truth that I was betrayed, and sold, by men in Vienna, whose interest it was that I should be eternally silenced.

I was immediately visited, by my brothers and sister, on my arrival at Dantzic, where we lived happy in each other's company, during a fortnight, and an amicable partition was made of my mother's effects: my sister perfectly justified herself concerning the manner in which I was obliged to fly from her house, in the year 1746; our parting was kind, and as brother and sister ought to part.

Our only acquaintance in Dantzic was the Austrian resident, M. Abramson, to whom I brought letters of recommendation from Vienna, and whose reception of us was polite even to extravagance.

This Abramson was a Prussian born, and had never seen Vienna, but obtained his then office by the recommendation of Count Bestuchef, without security for his good conduct, or proof of his good morals, heart or head. He was in close connection with the Prussian resident, Reimer, and was made the instrument of my ruin.

Scarcely had my brothers and sister departed before I determined to make a voyage, by sea, to
Russia.

Russia. Abramson contrived a thousand artifices, by which he detained me a week longer in Dantzic, that he, in conjunction with Reimer, might make the necessary preparations.

The King of Prussia had demanded that the magistrates of Dantzic should deliver me up, but this could not be done, without offending the Imperial court, I being a commissioned officer in that service, with proper passports: it was, therefore, probable, that this negotiation required letters should pass and repass, and, for this reason, Abramson was employed to detain me some days longer, till, by the last letters from Berlin, the magistrates of Dantzic were induced to violate public safety, and the laws of nations. Abramson I considered as my best friend, and my person as in perfect security; he had, therefore, no difficulty in persuading me to stay.

The day of supposed departure, on board a Swedish ship for Riga, approached, and the deceitful Abramson promised me to send one of his servants to the port, to know the hour. At four in the afternoon, he told me he had himself spoken to the captain, who said he should not sail till the next day; adding that he, Abramson, would expect me to breakfast, and would then accompany me to the vessel. I felt a secret inquietude, which made me desirous of leaving Dantzic, and immediately to send all my baggage, and sleep on board. Abramson prevented me, dragged me almost forcibly along with him, telling me he had much company, and that I must absolutely dine and sup at his house: accordingly, I did not return to my inn till eleven at night.

I was but just in bed when I heard a knocking at my door, which was not shut, and two of the city magistrates, with twenty grenadiers, entered my chamber, and surrounded my bed so suddenly that I had not time to take to my arms and defend myself,

self. My three servants had been secured, and I was told that the most worthy magistracy of Dantzic was obliged to deliver me up, as a delinquent, to his majesty the King of Prussia.

What were my feelings at seeing myself thus betrayed!—They silently conducted me to the city prison, where I remained twenty-four hours. About noon, Abramson came to visit me, affected to be infinitely concerned and enraged, and affirmed he had strongly protested against the illegality of this proceeding to the magistracy, as I was actually in the Austrian service; but that they had answered him, the court of Vienna had afforded them a precedent, for that, in 1752, they had done the same by the two sons of the Burgomaster Rutenberg, of Dantzic, and that, therefore, they were justified in making reprisal; that, likewise they durst not refuse the most earnest request, accompanied with threats, of the King of Prussia.

Their plea of retaliation originated as follows: There was a kind of club at Vienna, the members of which were seized, for having committed the utmost extravagance and debauchery, two of whom were the sons of the Burgomaster Rutenberg, and who were sentenced to the pillory. Great sums were offered by the father, to avoid this public disgrace, but ineffectually; they were punished, their punishment was legal, and had no similarity whatever to my case, nor could it, any way, justly give pretence of reprisal.

Abramson, who had, in reality, entered no protest whatever, but rather excited the magistracy, and acted in concert with Reimer, advised me to put my writings and other valuable effects into his hands, otherwise they would be seized. He knew I had received, in letters of exchange, from my brothers and sister, about seven thousand florins, and these I gave him, but kept my ring, worth about four thousand,

land, and some sixty guineas, which I had in my purse. He then embraced me, declared nothing should be neglected to effect my immediate deliverance, that even he would raise the populace for that purpose, that I could not be given up to the Prussians in less than a week, the magistracy being still undetermined, in an affair of serious, and he left me shedding abundance of crocodile tears, like the most affectionate of friends.

The next night, two magistrates, with their posse, came to my prison, attended by resident Reimer, a Prussian officer and under-officers, and into their hands I was delivered.—The pillage instantly began; Reimer tore off my ring, seized my watch, snuff-box, and all I had, not so much as sending me a coat, or shirt, from my effects, after which, they put me into a close coach, with three Prussians. The Dantzic guard accompanied the carriage to the city gate, that was opened to let me pass, after which, the Dantzic dragoons escorted me as far as Lauenburg, in Pomerania.

I have forgotten the date of this miserable day, but, to the best of my memory, it must have been in the beginning of June. Thirty Prussian hussars, commanded by a lieutenant, relieved the dragoons, at Lauenburg, and thus was I escorted, from garrison to garrison, till I arrived at Berlin.

Hence, it was evidently falsely affirmed, by the magistracy of Dantzic, and the conspirator Abramson, who wrote, in his own excuse, to Vienna, that my seizure must be attributed wholly to my own imprudence, and that I had exposed myself to this arrest, by going without the city gates, where I was taken and carried off: nor is it less astonishing that the court of Vienna should not have demanded satisfaction, for the treachery of the Dantzickers towards an Austrian officer, I having incontrovertibly proved this treachery, after I had regained my liberty.

liberty. Abramson, indeed, they could not punish, for, during my imprisonment, he had quitted the Austrian for the Prussian service, where he had, gradually, become so contemptible that, in the year 1764, when I was released from my imprisonment, he was himself imprisoned in the house of correction; and his wife, lately so rich, was obliged to beg her bread. Thus have I generally lived to see the fall of my betrayers; and thus have I found that, without indulging personal revenge, virtue and fortitude must at length triumph over the calumniator and the despot.

This truth will be further proved hereafter, nor can I behold, unmoved, the open shame in which my persecutors live, and how they tremble in my presence, their wicked deeds now being known to the world—Nay, monarchs may yet punish their perfidy!—Yet not so!—may they rather die in possession of wealth they have torn from me! I only wish the pity and respect of the virtuous and the wise.

But though Austria has never resented the affront committed on the person of an officer, in its service, still have I a claim on the city of Dantzic, where I was thus treacherously delivered up, for the effects I there was robbed of, the amount of which is between eleven and twelve thousand florins. This is a case too clear to require argument, and the publication of this history will make it known to the world. This claim also, among others, I leave to the children of an unfortunate father.

Enough of digression; let us attend to the remarkable events which happened on this dismal journey to Berlin. I was escorted from garrison to garrison, which were distant from each other, two, three, or, at most, five miles: wherever I came, I found compassion and respect. The detachment of hussars

only attended me two days ; it consisted of twelve men, and an officer, who rode with me in the carriage.

The fourth day I arrived at —, where the Duke of Wirtemberg, father of the present Grand Duchess of Russia, was commander, and where his regiment was in quarters. The Duke conversed with me, was much moved, invited me to dine, and detained me all the day, where I was not treated as a prisoner. I so far gained his esteem that I was allowed to remain there the next day ; the chief persons of the place were assembled, and the Duchess, whom he had lately married, testified every mark of pity and esteem. I staid dinner with him also on the third day, after which, I departed in an open carriage, without escort, attended only by a lieutenant of his regiment.

I must relate this event circumstantially, for it not only proves the just and noble character of the Duke, but, likewise, that there are moments in which the brave may appear cowards, the clear-sighted blind, and the wise foolish ; nay, one might almost be led to conclude, from this, that my imprisonment, at Magdeburg, was the consequence of predestination, since I remained rivetted in stupor, in despite of suggestions, forebodings, and favourable opportunities. Who but must be astonished, having read the daring efforts I made at Glatz, at this strange insensibility now in the very crisis of my fate ? I, afterward, was convinced it was the intention of the noble-minded Duke that I should escape, and that he must have given particular orders to the successive officers. He would, probably, have willingly subjected himself to the reprimands of Frederic, if I would have taken to flight. The journey, through the places where his regiment was stationed, continued five days, and I every where passed the evenings in the company of the officers,

officers, the kindness of whom was unbounded. I slept in their quarters without centinel, and travelled in their carriages, without other guard than a single officer in the carriage. In various places the high road was not more than two, and sometimes one mile from the frontier-road, therefore nothing could have been easier than to have escaped ; yet did the same Trenck, who, in Glatz, had cut his way through thirty men, to obtain his freedom, that Trenck, who had never been acquainted with fear, now remain four days bewildered, and unable to come to any determination.

In a small garrison town, I lodged in the house of a captain of cavalry, and continually was treated by him with every mark of friendship. After dinner, he rode at the head of his squadron to water the horse, unsaddled. I remained alone in the house, entered the stable, saw three remaining horses, with saddles and bridles : in my chamber was a sword, and a pair of pistols. I had but to mount one of the horses, and fly at the opposite gate. I meditated on the project, and almost resolved to put it in execution, but presently became undetermined, by some secret impulse. The captain returned some time after, and appeared surprized to find me still there. The next day, he accompanied me alone in his carriage : we came to a forest ; he saw some champignons, stopped, asked me to alight, and help to gather them ; he strayed more than a hundred paces from me, and gave me entire liberty to fly ; yet notwithstanding all this, I voluntarily returned, suffering myself to be led, like a sheep to the slaughter.

I was treated so well, and escorted with so much negligence, that I fell into a gross error. Perceiving they conveyed me straight to Berlin, I imagined the King wished to question me, concerning the plan formed for the war, which was then on the point
of

of breaking out. This plan I perfectly knew, the secret correspondence of Bestuchef having all passed through my hand, which circumstance was much better known at Berlin than at Vienna. Confirmed in this opinion, and far from imagining the fate that awaited me, I remained irresolute, insensible, and blind to danger. Alas, how short was this hope ! How quickly was it succeeded by despair, when, after four days march, I quitted the district under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg, and was delivered up to the first garrison of infantry at Cöslin ! The last of the Wirtemberg officers, when taking leave of me, appeared to be greatly affected ; and from this moment, till I came to Berlin, I was put under a strong escort, and the given orders were rigorously observed.

Arrived here, I was lodged over the grand guard-house, with two centinels at my chamber, and one at the door. The King was at Potsdam, and here I remained three days ; on the third, some staff officers made their appearance, seated themselves at a table, and put the following questions to me :

First, what was my business at Dantzic ?

Secondly, whether I was acquainted with M. Goltz, Prussian ambassador in Russia ?

Thirdly, who was concerned with me in the conspiracy at Dantzic ?

When I perceived their intention, by these interrogations, I absolutely refused to reply, only saying I had been imprisoned, in the fortress of Glatz, without hearing, or trial, by court-martial ; that, availing myself of the laws of nature, I had, by my own exertions procured myself liberty, and that I was now a captain of cavalry in the imperial service ; that I demanded a legal trial for my first unknown offence, after which I engaged to answer all interrogatories, and prove my innocence ; but that, at present, being accused of new crimes, without a hearing

hearing concerning my former punishment, the procedure was illegal. I was told they had no orders concerning this, and I remained dumb to all further questions.

They wrote, some two hours, God knows what : a carriage came up ; I was strictly searched, to find whether I had any weapons : thirteen or fourteen ducats, which I had concealed were taken from me, and I was conducted under a strong escort, through Spandau to Magdeburg. The officer here delivered me up to the captain of the guard at the citadel ; the town-major came and brought me to the dungeon, expressly prepared for me ; a small picture of the Countess of Bestuchef, set with diamonds, which I had kept concealed in my bosom, was now taken from me ; the door was shut, and here I was left.

My dungeon was in a casemate, the fore part of which, six feet wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance of the casemate itself. The window in the seven feet thick wall, was so situated that, though I had light, I could see neither heaven nor earth ; I could only see the roof of the magazine ; within and without this window were iron bars, and in the space between an iron grating, so close and so situated, by the rising of the walls, that it was impossible I should see any person without the prison, or that any person should see me. On the outside was a wooden palisadoe, six feet from the wall, by which the centinels were prevented from conveying any thing to me. I had a matrafs, and a bedstead, but which was immoveably ironed to the floor, so that it was impossible I should drag it, and stand up to the window ; beside the door was a small iron stove and a night table, in like manner fixed to the floor. I was not yet put in irons, and my allowance was
a pound

a pound and a half per day of ammunition bread, and a jug of water.

From my youth I had always had a good appetite, and my bread was so mouldy I could scarcely at first eat the half of it. This was the consequence of Major Rieding's avarice, who endeavoured to profit even by this, so great was the number of unfortunate prisoners; therefore, it is impossible I should describe to my readers the excess of tortures that, during eleven months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could, easily, every day have devoured six pounds of bread; and every twenty-four hours after having received, and swallowed, my small portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet must wait another twenty-four hours for a new morsel. How willingly would I have signed a bill of exchange for a thousand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to have satiated my hunger on dry bread! For, so extreme was it, that, scarcely had I dropt into a sweet sleep, before I dreamed I was feasting at some table, luxuriously loaded, where, eating like a glutton, the whole company were astonished to see me, while my imagination was heated by the sensation of famine. Awakened by the pains of hunger, the dishes vanished, and nothing remained but the reality of my distress; the cravings of nature were but inflamed, my tortures prevented sleep, and, looking into futurity, the cruelty of my fate suffered, if possible, increase, from imagining that the prolongation of pangs like these was insupportable. God preserve every honest man from sufferings like mine! They were not to be endured by the villain most obstinate. Many have fasted three days, many have suffered want for a week, or more, but, certainly, no one, besides myself, ever endured it in the same excess for eleven months. Some have supposed that to eat little might
become

become habitual, but I have experienced the contrary. My hunger encreased every day, and, of the trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this of eleven months, was the most bitter.

Petitions, remonstrances, were of no avail ; the answer was—" We must give no more, such is the " king's command."—The Governor General Porck, born the enemy of man, replied, when I entreated, at least, to have my fill of bread, " You " have feasted often enough out of the service of " plate taken from the king, by Trenck, at the " battle of Sorau ; you must now eat ammunition " bread in your dirty kennel. Your Empress " makes no allowance for your maintenance, and " you are unworthy of the bread you eat, or the " trouble taken about you." Judge, reader, what pangs such insolence, added to such sufferings, must inflict. Judge what were my thoughts, foreseeing, as I did, an endless duration to this imprisonment, and these torments.

My three doors were kept ever shut, and I was left to such meditations as such feelings, and such hopes, might inspire. Daily about noon, once in twenty-four hours, my pittance of bread and water was brought. The keys of all the doors were kept by the governor : the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were delivered through an aperture. The prison doors were opened only once a week, on a Wednesday, when the governor, and town-major, my hole having been first cleaned, paid their visit.

Having remained thus two months, and observed this method was invariable, I began to execute a project I had formed, of the possibility of which I was convinced.

Where the night-table and stove stood the floor was bricked, and this paving extended to the wall
that

that separated my casemate from the adjoining one, in which was no prisoner. My window was only guarded by a single centinel ; I therefore, soon found among those who successively relieved guard, two kind-hearted fellows, who described to me the situation of my prison ; hence I perceived I might effect my escape, could I but penetrate into the adjoining casemate, the door of which was not shut. Provided I had a friend, and a boat waiting for me at the Elbe, or could I swim across that river, the confines of Saxony were but a mile distant.

To describe my plan, at length, would lead to prolixity, yet, I must enumerate some of its circumstances, as it was remarkably intricate, and of gigantic labour.

I worked through the iron, eighteen inches long, by which the night-table was fastened, and broke off the clinchings of the nails, but preserved their heads, that I might put them again in their places, and all might appear secure to my weekly visitors. This procured me tools to raise up the brick floor, under which I found earth. My first attempt was to work a hole through the wall, seven feet thick, behind, and concealed by, the night-table. The first layer was of brick. I afterwards came to large hewn stones. I endeavoured, accurately, to number and remember the bricks, both of the flooring and the wall, so that I might replace them, and all might appear safe. This having accomplished, I proceeded.

The day preceding visitation all was carefully replaced, and the intervening mortar as carefully preserved ; the whole had, probably, been white-washed a hundred times ; and, that I might fill up all remaining interstices, I pounded the white stuff this afforded, wetted it, made a brush of my hair, then applied this plaister, washed it over, that the colour might

might be uniform, and, afterward, stripped myself, and sat, with my naked body against the place, by the heat of which it was dried.

While labouring, I placed the stones and bricks upon the bedstead, and, had they taken the precaution to come at any other time in the week, the stated Wednesday excepted, I had, inevitably, been discovered; but, as no such ill accident befel me, in six months my Herculean labours gave me a prospect of success.

Means were to be found to remove the rubbish from my prison; all of which, in a wall so thick, it was impossible to replace: mortar and stone could not be removed. I therefore, took the earth, scattered it about my chamber, and ground it under my feet the whole day, till I had reduced it to dust; this dust I strewed in the aperture of my window, making use of the loosened night-table to stand upon. I tied splinters from my bedstead together, with the ravelled yarn of an old stocking, and to this affixed a tuft of my hair. I worked a large hole under the middle grating, which could not be seen when standing on the ground, and through this I pushed my dust with the tool I had prepared to the outer window, then, waiting till the wind should happen to rise, during the night I brushed it away, it was blown off, and no appearance remained on the outside. By this single expedient I rid myself of at least three hundred weight of earth, and thus made room to continue my labours: yet, this being still insufficient, I had recourse to another artifice, which was, to knead up the earth in the form of sausages, to resemble the human faeces: these I dried, and, when the prisoner came to clean my dungeon, hastily tossed them into the night table, and thus disencumbered myself of a pound or two more of earth each week. I, further, made little balls,

balls, and, when the centinel was walking, blew them through a paper tube, out of the window. Into the empty space I put my mortar and stones, and worked on successfully.

I cannot, however, describe my difficulties, after having penetrated about two feet into the hewn stone. My tools were the irons I had dug out, which fastened my bedstead and night-table. A compassionate soldier, also, gave me an old iron ram-rod, and a soldier's sheath-knife, which did me excellent service, more especially, the latter, as I shall, presently, more fully shew. With these, too, I cut splinters from my bedstead, which aided me to pick the mortar from the interstices of the stone : yet the labour of penetrating through this seven-feet wall was incredible : the building was ancient, and the mortar occasionally, quite petrified, so that the whole stone was obliged to be reduced to dust. After continuing my work, unremittingly, for six months, I at length, approached the accomplishment of my hopes, as I knew, by coming to the facing of brick, which, now, was only between me and the adjoining casemate.

Meantime I found opportunity to speak to some of the centinels, among whom was an old grenadier called Gefhardt, whom I here name, because he displayed qualities of the greatest, and most noble kind. From him I learned the precise situation of my prison, and every circumstance that might best conduce to my escape.

Nothing was wanting but money to buy a boat, and, crossing the Elbe with Gefhardt, to take refuge in Saxony. By Gefhardt's means I became acquainted with a kind-hearted girl, a Jewess, and a native of Dessau, Elſher Heymannin by name, and whose father had been ten years in prison. This good, compassionate maiden, whom I had never seen, won over two other grenadiers, who gave her an opportunity

portunity of speaking to me every time they stood centinel. By tying my splinters together, I made a stick long enough to reach beyond the palisadoes that were before my window, and thus obtained paper, another knife, and a file.

I, now, wrote to my sister, the wife of the before mentioned only son of General Waldow, described my situation, and intreated her to remit three hundred rix-dollars to the Jewess, hoping by this means, I might escape from my prison. I wrote another affecting letter to Count Puebla, the Austrian ambassador, at Berlin, in which was inclosed a draft, for a thousand florins, on my effects at Vienna, desiring him to remit these to the Jewess, having promised her that sum, as a reward for her fidelity. She was to bring the three hundred rix-dollars my sister should send to me, and take measures, with the grenadiers, to facilitate my flight, which nothing seemed able to prevent, I having the power either to break into the casemate, or, aided by the grenadiers and the Jewess, to cut the locks from the doors, and, that way, escape from my dungeon. The letters were open, I being obliged to roll them round the stick to convey them to Esther.

The faithful girl straightway proceeded to Berlin, where she arrived safe, and, immediately, spoke to Count Puebla. The Count gave her the kindest reception, received the letter of exchange, and bade her go and speak to Weingarten, the secretary of the embassy, and act entirely as he should direct. She was received by Weingarten in the most friendly manner, who, by his questions drew from her the whole secret, and our intended plan of flight, aided by the two grenadiers, and, also, that she had a letter for my sister, which she must carry to Hammer, near Custrin. He asked to see this letter and read it, told her to proceed on her journey, gave her two ducats to bear her expences, ordered her to come
to

to him on her return, said that, during this interval, he would endeavour to obtain her the thousand florins for my draft, and would then give her further instructions

Esther, cheerfully, departed for Hammer, where my sister, then a widow, and no longer, as in 1746, in dread of her husband, joyful to hear I was still living, immediately gave her the three hundred rix-dollars, exhorting her to exert every possible means to obtain my deliverance. Esther hastened back, with the letter from my sister to me to Berlin, and told all that had passed to Weingarten, who read the letter, and enquired the names of the two grenadiers. He told her the thousand florins, from Vienna, were not yet come, but gave her twelve ducats, bade her hasten back to Magdeburg, to carry me all this good news, and then to return to Berlin, where he would pay her the thousand florins. Esther came to Magdeburg, went, immediately, to the citadel, and, most luckily met with the wife of one of the grenadiers, who told her that her husband and his comrade had been taken and put in irons the day before. Esther had quickness of perception, and suspected we had been betrayed : she, therefore, instantly again began her travels, and happily came safe to Dessau.

Here I must interrupt my narrative, that I may explain this infernal enigma to my readers, an account of which I received, after I had obtained my freedom, and still possess, in the hand-writing of the Jewess. Weingarten, as was afterwards discovered, was a traitor, and too much trusted by Count Puebla, he being a spy in the pay of Prussia, and who had revealed to the court of Berlin, not only the secrets of the Imperial embassy, but also the plan of the whole projected war. For this reason, he afterward, when the war broke out, remained at Berlin, in the Prussian service. His reason for betraying me was that he might secure the thousand florins, which I had drawn for on Vienna;

Vienna ; for the receipt of the 24th of May, 1755, attests that the sum was paid, by the administrators of my effects, to Count Puebla, and has since been brought to an account; nor can I believe that Weingarten did not appropriate this sum to himself, since I cannot be persuaded the ambassador would commit such an action, although the receipt is in his handwriting, as may easily be demonstrated, it being now in my possession. Thus did Weingarten, that he might detain a thousand florins, with impunity, bring new evils upon me, and upon my sister, which occasioned her premature death ; caused one grenadier to run the gauntlet, three successive days, and another to be hung.

Esther alone escaped, and, since, gave me an elucidation of the whole affair. The report at Magdeburg was that a Jewess had obtained money from my sister, and bribed two grenadiers, and that one of these had trusted and been betrayed by his comrade. Indeed, what other story could be told at Magdeburg, or could it be known I had been betrayed to the Prussian ministry by the Imperial secretary? The truth, however, is as I have stated ; my account book exists, and the Jewess is still alive.

Her poor imprisoned father was punished with more than a hundred blows, to make him declare whether his daughter had intrusted him with the plot, or if he knew whether she was fled, and miserably died in fetters. Such was the mischief occasioned by a rascal ! And who might be blamed but the imprudent Count Puebla ?

In the year 1766, the Jewess demanded of me a thousand florins ; and I wrote to Count Puebla, that, having his receipt for the sum, which never had been repaid, I begged it might be restored. He received my agent with rudeness, returned no answer, and seemed to trouble himself little concerning my loss. Whether the heirs of the count be, or be not,

not, indebted to me these thousand florins, and the interest, I leave the world to determine. Thrice have I been betrayed at Vienna, and sold to Berlin, like Joseph to the Egyptians. My history proves the origin of my misfortunes was the persuasion that residents, envoys, and ambassadors, must be men of known worth and honesty, and not the vilest of rascals and miscreants. But, alas! the effects and money they have robbed me of have never been restored; and, for the miseries they have brought upon me, they could not be recompensed by the wealth of any or all the monarchs on earth. Estates they may, but truth they cannot, confiscate; and of the villainy of Abramson and Weingarten, I have documents and proofs that no court of justice could disannul.—Stop, reader, if thou hast a heart, and in that heart compassion! Stop, and imagine what my sensations are, while I remember, and recount, a part only of the injustice that has been done me, a part only of the tyranny I have endured! By the last act of treachery, of Weingarten, was I held in chains, the most horrible, for nine succeeding years! By him, was an innocent man brought to the gallows! By him, too, my sister, my beloved, my unfortunate sister, was obliged to build a dungeon for me, at her own expence! Beside being amerced in a fine, the extent of which I never could learn, her goods were plundered, her estates made a desert, her children fell into extreme poverty, and she, herself, expired in her thirty-third year, the victim of cruelty, persecution, her brother's misfortunes, and the treachery of the Imperial embassy!

Blessed shade of a beloved sister!—The sacrifice of my adverse and dreadful fate! Thee could I never avenge! Thee could the blood of Weingarten never appease! No asylum, however sacred, should have secured him, had he not sought that last of asylums for human wickedness and human woes, the grave!

To

To thee do I dedicate these few pages, a tribute of thankfulness; and, if future rewards there are, may the brightest of these rewards be thine! For us, nor for ours, may rewards be expected from monarchs who in apathy have beheld our mortal sufferings. Rest, noble soul, murdered, though thou wert, by the enemies of thy brother! Again my blood boils, again the tears roll down my cheeks, when I remember thee, thy sufferings in my cause, and thy untimely end! I knew it not—I sought to thank thee—I found thee in the grave—I would have made retribution to my child, but unjust, iron-hearted princes had deprived me of the power.--Can the virtuous heart conceive affliction more cruel? My own ills I would have endured with magnanimity; but thine are wrongs I have neither the power to forget nor heal.

Enough of this.—

The worthy emperor, Francis I. shed tears, when I afterward had the honour of relating to him, in person, my past miseries; I beheld them flow, and gratitude threw me at his feet. His emotion was so great, he tore himself away! I left the palace with all the enthusiasm of soul which such a scene must inspire.

He, probably, would have done more than pitied me, but his death soon followed. I relate this incident to convince posterity Francis I. possessed a heart worthy an emperor, worthy of a man. In the knowledge I have had of monarchs, he stands alone. Frederic and Theresa both died without doing me justice; I am now too old, too proud, have too much apathy; to expect it from their successors. Petition I will not, knowing my rights; and justice from courts of law, however evident my claims, were, in these courts, vain indeed to expect—Lawyers and advocates I know but too well, and an army to support my rights I have not.

VOL. I.

M

What

What heart that can feel but will pardon me these digressions! At the exact and simple recital of facts like these, the whole man must be roused, and the philosopher himself shudder.

Once more:—I heard nothing of what had happened for some days; at length, however, it was the honest Gefhardt's turn to mount guard; but, the post being doubled, and two additional grenadiers placed before my door, explanation was exceedingly difficult. He, however, in spite of precaution, found means to inform me what had happened to his two unfortunate comrades.

The King came to a review at Magdeburg, when he visited the Sar-Fort, and commanded a new cell to be immediately made, prescribing himself the kind of irons by which I was to be secured. The honest Gefhardt heard the officer say this cell was meant for me; gave me notice of it, but assured me it could not be ready in less than a month. I, therefore, determined, as soon as possible, to complete my breach in the wall, and escape, without the aid of any one. The thing was possible; for I had twisted the hair of my matrafs into a rope, which I meant to tie to a cannon, and descend the rampart, after which I might swim across the Elbe, gain the Saxon frontiers, and thus safely escape.

On the 26th of May I had determined to break into the next casemate; but, when I came to work at the bricks, I found them so hard, and strongly cemented, that I was obliged to defer the labour to the following day. I left off, weary and spent, at day break, and, should any one enter my dungeon they must infallibly discover the breach. How dreadful is the destiny by which, through life, I have been persecuted, and which has continually plunged me headlong into calamity, when I imagined happiness was at hand!

The

The 27th of May was a cruel day in the history of my life. My cell in the Star-Fort had been finished sooner than Gefhardt had supposed; and, at night, when I was preparing to fly, I heard a carriage stop before my prison. Oh, God! what was my terror, what were the horrors of this moment of despair! The locks and bolts resounded, the doors flew open, and the last of my poor remaining resources was to conceal my knife. The town-major, the major of the day, and a captain entered; I saw them by the light of their two lanterns. The only words they spoke were, "dress yourself;" which was immediately done. I still wore the uniform of the regiment of Cordova. Irons were given me, which I was obliged myself to fasten to my wrists and ankles: the town-major tied a bandage over my eyes, and taking me under the arm, they thus conducted me to the carriage. It was necessary to pass through the city to arrive at the Star-Fort: all was silent, except the noise of the escort; but, when we entered Magdeburgh, I heard the people running, who were crowding together, to obtain a sight of me. Their curiosity was raised, by the report that I was going to be beheaded. That I was executed, on this occasion, in the Star-Fort, after having been conducted blind-fold through the city, has since been both affirmed and written, and the officers had then orders to propagate this error, that the world might remain in utter ignorance concerning me. I, indeed, knew otherwise, though I affected not to have this knowledge; and, as I was not gagged, I behaved as if I expected death;—reproached my conductors in language that even made them shudder, and painted their king in his true colours, as one who, unheard, had condemned an innocent subject by a despotic exertion of power.

My fortitude was admired, at the moment when it was supposed I thought myself leading to executi-

on. No one replied, but their sighs intimated their compassion: certain it is, few Prussians willingly execute such commands. The carriage, at length, stoppe, and I was brought into my new cell. The bandage was taken from my eyes. The dungeon was lighted by a few torches. God of heaven!—what were my feelings when I beheld the whole floor covered with chains, a fire-pan, and two grim men standing with their smith-hammers!

* * * * *

To work went these engines of despotism!—Enormous chains were fixed to my ankle at one end, and at the other to a ring which was incorporated in the wall. This ring was three feet from the ground, and only allowed me to move about two or three feet to the right and left. They next rivetted another huge iron ring, of a hand's breadth, round my naked body, to which hung a chain, fixed into an iron bar, as thick as a man's arm. This bar was two feet in length, and at each end of it was a handcuff. The iron collar round my neck was not added till the year 1756.

* * * * *

No soul bade me good-night.—All retired in dreadful silence;—and I heard the horrible grating of four doors, that were successively locked and bolted upon me!

Thus does man act by his fellow, knowing him to be innocent, having received the commands of another man so to act.

Oh God! thou, alone, knowest how my heart, void as it was of guilt, beat at this moment. There sat I, destitute, alone, in thick darkness, upon the bare earth, with a weight of fetters insupportable to nature, thanking thee that these cruel men had not discovered my knife, by which my miseries might yet find an end. Death is a last, certain refuge, that
can,

can, indeed, bid defiance to the rage of tyranny. What shall I say? How shall I make the reader feel as I then felt? How describe my despondency, and yet account for that latent impulse that withheld my hand on this fatal, this miserable night?

This misery, I foresaw, was not of short duration: I had heard of the wars that were lately broken out between Austria and Prussia. Patience to wait their termination, amid sufferings and wretchedness, such as mine, appeared impossible, and freedom even then was doubtful. Sad experience had I had of Vienna, and well I knew those, who had despoiled me of my property, most anxiously would endeavour to prevent my return.—Such were my meditations! Such my night thoughts! Day at length returned—But where was its splendor? Fled—I beheld it not—Yet was its glimmering obscurity sufficient to shew me what was my dungeon.

In breadth it was about eight feet; in length, ten. Near me once more stood a night table; in a corner was a seat, four bricks broad, on which I might sit, and recline against the wall. Opposite the ring to which I was fastened, the light was admitted through a semicircular aperture, one foot high, and two in diameter. This aperture ascended to the centre of the wall, which was six feet thick, and at this central part was a close iron grating, from which, outward, the aperture descended, and its two extremities were again secured by strong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by which the light entered, was so covered by the wall of the rampart that, instead of finding immediate passage, the light only gained admission by reflection. This, considering the smallness of the aperture, and the impediments of grating and iron bars, must needs make the obscurity great, yet my eyes, in time, became so accustomed to this glimmering that I
could

could see a mouse run. In winter, however; when the sun did not shine into the ditch. it was eternal night with me. Between the bars and the grating was a glass window, with a small central casement, which might be opened to admit air. My night-table was daily removed, and beside me stood a jug of water. The name of T R E N C K was built in the wall, in red brick, and under my feet was a tombstone, with the name of TRENCK also cut on it, and carved with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon were doubled, of oak, two inches thick: without these was an open space or front cell, in which was a window, and this space was, likewise, shut in by double doors. The ditch, in which this dreadful den was built, was inclosed on both sides by pallisadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the door of which was entrusted to the officer of the guard, it being the King's intention to prevent all possibility of speech or communication with the centinels. The only motion I had the power to make was that of jumping upward, of swinging my arms, to procure myself warmth. When more accustomed to these fetters, I was, likewise, capable of moving from side to side, about four feet, but this pained my shin bones.

The cell had been finished with lime and plaister but eleven days, and every body supposed it would be impossible I should exist in these damps above a fortnight. I remained six months continually immersed in water, that trickled upon me from the thick arches under which I was; and I can safely affirm that, for the first three months, I was never dry; yet did I continue in health. I was visited daily, at noon, after relieving guard, and the doors were then obliged to be left open for some minutes, otherwise the dampness of the air put out their candles.

This

This was my situation, and here I sat, destitute of friend, helplessly wretched, preyed on by all the torture of thought, that continually suggested the most gloomy, the most dreadful of images. My heart was not yet wholly turned to stone, my fortitude was sunken to despondency ; my dungeon was the very cave of despair ; yet was my arm restrained, yet was this excess of misery endured.

How, then, may hope be wholly eradicated from the heart of man ! My fortitude, after some time, began to revive ; I glowed with the desire of convincing the world I was capable of suffering what man had never suffered before, perhaps of at last, emerging from this load of wretchedness, triumphant over my enemies. So long, and ardently, did my fancy dwell on this picture that my mind, at length, acquired a heroism, which Socrates himself certainly never possessed. Age had benumbed his sense of pleasure, and he drank the poisonous draught, with cool indifference ; I was young, inured to high hopes, yet now beholding deliverance impossible, or at an immense, a dreadful distance. Such, too, were the sufferings of soul, and body, I could not hope they might be supported and live.

About noon my den was opened. Sorrow and compassion were painted on the countenances of my keepers. No one spoke. No one bade me good-morrow. Dreadful, indeed was their arrival, for, unaccustomed to the monstrous bolts and bars, they were kept resounding for a full half hour, before such soul-chilling, such hope-murdering, impediments were removed. It was the voice of tyranny that thundered !

My night-table was taken out, a camp-bed, matras, and blankets, were brought me ; a jug of water set down, and, beside it, an ammunition loaf
of

of six pounds weight. "That you no more may complain of hunger," said the town major, "you shall have as much bread as you can eat." The door was shut, and I again left to my thoughts.

What a strange thing is that called happiness! How shall I express my extreme joy, when, after eleven months of intolerable hunger, I was again indulged with a full feast of coarse ammunition bread? The fond lover never rushed more eagerly to the arms of his expecting bride; the famished tiger more ravenously on his prey, than I upon this loaf: I eat, rested, surveyed the precious morsel, eat again, and absolutely shed tears of pleasure.—Breaking bit after bit, I had, by evening devoured all my loaf.

Oh Nature! what delight hast thou combined with the gratification of thy wants! Remember this ye who gorge, ye who rack invention to excite appetite, and which yet you cannot procure; remember how simple are the means that will give a crust of mouldy bread a flavour more exquisite than all the spices of the East, or all the profusion of land or sea: remember this, grow hungry, and indulge your sensuality.

Alas my enjoyment was of short duration. I soon found that excess is followed by pain and repentance. My fasting had weakened digestion, and rendered it inactive. My body swelled, my water-jug was emptied, cramps, cholics, and, at length, inordinate thirst racked me all the night. I began to pour curses on those who seemed to refine on torture, and, after starving me so long, to invite me to gluttony. Could I not have reclined on my bed, I should, indeed, have been driven this night to desperation: yet, even this was but a partial relief, for, not accustomed to my enormous fetters, I could not extend myself in them in the same manner I was afterward taught to do by habit. I dragged

dragged them, however, so together as to enable me to sit down on the bare matrafs. This, of all my nights of suffering, stands foremost. When they opened my dungeon, next day, they found me in a truly pitiable situation, wondered at my appetite, brought me another loaf; I refused to accept it, believing I never more should have occasion for bread: they, however, left me one, gave me water, shrugged up their shoulders, wished me farewell, as, according to all appearance, they never expected to find me alive, and shut all the doors, without asking whether I wished or needed farther assistance.

Three days had passed before I could again eat a morsel of bread, and my mind, brave in health, now, in a sick body, became pusillanimous, so that I determined on death. The irons, every where round my body, and their weight were insupportable; nor could I imagine it was possible I should habituate myself to them, or endure them long enough to expect deliverance. Peace was a very distant prospect. The King had commanded that such a prison should be built as should exclude all necessity of a centinel, in order that I might not converse with and seduce them from their duty; and, in the first days of despair, deliverance appeared impossible; and the fetters, the war, the pain I felt, the place, the length of time, each circumstance seemed equally impossible to support. A thousand reasons convinced me it was necessary to end my sufferings. I shall not enter into theological disputes; let those who blame me imagine themselves in my situation; or rather, let them first actually endure my miseries, and, then, let them reason. I had, often, braved death in prosperity, and, at this moment, it seemed a blessing.

Full of these meditations, every minute's patience appeared absurdity, and resolution meanness
of

of soul, yet I wished my mind should be satisfied that reason, and not rashness, had induced the act. I therefore, determined, that I might examine the question coolly, to wait a week longer, and die on the fourth of July. In the meantime I revolved in my mind what possible means there were of escape, not fearing, naked and chained, to rush and expire on the bayonets of the enemies.

The next day I observed, as the four doors were opened, that they were only of wood, therefore, questioned whether I might not even cut off the locks with the knife that I had so fortunately concealed; and, should this and every means fail, then would be the time to die. I likewise, determined to make an attempt even to free myself of my chains.—I, happily, forced my right hand through the hand-cuff, though the blood trickled from my nails. My attempts on the left were long ineffectual: but, by rubbing with a brick, which I got from my seat, on the rivet that had been negligently closed I effected this also.

The chain was fastened to the rim round my body, by a hook, one end of which was not inserted in the rim, therefore, by setting my foot against the wall, I had strength enough so far to bend this hook back, and open it, as to force out the link of the chain. The remaining difficulty was the chain that attached my foot to the wall: the links of this chain I took, doubled, twisted, and wrenched, till, at length, nature having bestowed on me great strength, I made a desperate effort, sprang forcibly up, and two links at once flew off.

Fortunate, indeed, did I think myself; I hastened to the door, groped in the dark to find the clinchings of the nails by which the lock was fastened, and discovered no very large piece of wood need be cut. Immediately I went to work with my knife,
and

and cut through the oak door, to find its thickness, which proved to be only one inch, therefore, was it possible to open all the four doors in four and twenty hours.

Again hope revived in my heart. To prevent detection I hastened to put on my chains ; but, oh God ! what difficulties had I to surmount !—After much groping about, I, at length found the link that had flown off ; this I hid. It had been my good fortune, hitherto, to escape examination, as the possibility of ridding myself of such chains was in no wise suspected. The separated links I tied together with my hair ribbon ; but, when I again endeavoured to force my hand into the ring, it was so swelled that every effort was fruitless. The whole night was employed upon the rivet, but all labour was in vain.

Noon was the hour of visitation, and necessity and danger again obliged me to attempt forcing my hand in, which, at length, after excruciating torture, I effected. My visitors came, and every thing had the appearance of order. I found, it, however, impossible to force out my right hand while it continued swelled

I, therefore, remained quiet till the day fixed, and, on the determined fourth of July, immediately as my visitors had closed the doors upon me, I disincumbered myself of my irons, took my knife, and began my Herculean labour on the door. The first of the double doors that opened inwards was conquered in less than an hour ; the other was a very different task. The lock was soon cut round, but it opened outwards ; there were, therefore, no other means left, but to cut the whole door away above the bar

This incessant and incredible labour made possible, though it was the more difficult, as every thing was

was to be done by feeling, I being totally in the dark : the sweat dropt, or, rather, flowed from my body ; my fingers were clotted in my own blood, and my lacerated hands were one continued wound.

Day-light appeared, I clambered over the door that was half cut away, and got up to the window in the space or cell that was between the double doors, as before described. Here I saw my dungeon was in the ditch of the first rampart : before me I beheld the road from the rampart, the guard but fifty paces distant, and the high palisadoes that were in the ditch, and must be scaled before I could reach the rampart. Hope grew stronger ; my efforts were redoubled. The first of the next double doors was attacked, which, likewise, opened inward, and was soon conquered. The sun set before I had ended this, and the fourth was to be cut away, as the second had been. My strength failed ; both my hands were raw : I rested a while, began again, and had made a cut of a foot long, when my knife snapt, and the broken blade dropt to the ground.

* * * * *

God of omnipotence ! what was I at this moment ! Was there, God of mercies ! was there ever creature of thine more justified than I in despair ? — The moon shone clear ; I cast a wild distracted look up to Heaven, fell on my knees, and, in the agony of my soul, sought comfort ; but no comfort could be found, nor Religion nor Philosophy had any to give — I cursed not Providence, I feared not annihilation, I dared not Almighty vengeance ; God the creator was the disposer of my fate ; and, if he heaped afflictions upon me he had not given me strength to support, his justice would not therefore, punish me. To him the judge of the quick
and

and dead, I committed my soul, seized the broken knife, gashed through the veins of my left arm and foot, sat myself tranquilly down, and saw the blood flow. Nature, overpowered, fainted, and I know not how long I remained slumbering in this state.— Suddenly I heard my own name, awoke, and again heard the words Baron Trenck ! My answer was, who calls?—And who indeed was it—who but my honest grenadier Gefhardt—my former faithful friend in the citadel.— The good, the kind fellow had got upon the rampart, that he might comfort me.

“ How do you do ? ” said Gefhardt—“ Weltering in my blood,” answered I ; “ to-morrow you will find me dead.”!— “ Why should you die ? ” replied he. “ It is much easier for you to escape here than from the citadel. Here is no centinel, “ and I shall soon find means to provide you with “ tools : if you can only break out, leave the rest “ to me. As often as I am on guard I will seek opportunity to speak to you. In the whole Star- “ Fort there are but two centinels ? the one at the “ entrance, and the other at the guard-house.— “ Do not despair, God will succour you ; trust to “ me.”——The good man’s kindness and discourse revived my hopes : I saw the possibility of an escape. A secret joy diffused itself through my soul——I, immediately, tore my shirt, bound up my wounds, and waited the approach of day ; and the sun, soon after, shone through the window, to me, with unaccustomed brightness.

Let the reader judge how far it was chance, how far the effect of divine providence, that in this dreadful hour my heart again received hope. Who was it sent the honest Gefhardt, at such a moment, to my prison ? For, had it not been for him, I had, certainly, when I awoke from my slumbers, cut more effectually through my arteries.

Till

Till noon I had time to consider what might farther be done : yet, what could be done, what expected, but that I should now be much more cruelly treated, and even insupportably ironed than before ; finding as they must, the doors cut through, and my fetters shaken off ?

After mature consideration, I, therefore, made the following resolution, which succeeded happily, and even beyond my hopes. Before I proceed, however, I will speak a few words concerning my then situation. It is impossible to describe how much I was exhausted. The prison swam with blood, and, certainly, but little was left in my body. With painful wounds, swelled and torn hands, I there stood shirtless, felt an inclination to sleep almost irresistible, and scarcely had strength to keep my legs, yet was I obliged to rouse myself, that I might execute my plan.

With the bar that separated my hands I loosened the bricks of my seat, which being newly laid, was easily done, and heaped them up in the middle of my prison. The inner door was quite open, and with my chains I so barricadoed the upper half of the second as to prevent anyone climbing over it. When noon came, and the first of the doors was unlocked, all were astonished to find the second open. There I stood, a desperate man besmeared with blood, the picture of horror, with a brick in one hand, and in the other my broken knife, crying, as they approached, “ Keep off, Mr. Major, keep off !———Tell
 “ the Governor I will live no longer in chains, and
 “ that here I stand, if he so pleases, to be shot ; for
 “ so only will I be conquered. Here no man shall
 “ enter—I will destroy all that approach ; here are
 “ my weapons, here will I die in despite of tyranny.” The major was terrified, wanted resolution, and made his report to the governor. I, meantime, sat down on my bricks, to wait what might happen :
 my

my secret intent, however, was not so desperate as appeared. I fought only to obtain a favourable capitulation.

The governor, General Borck, presently, came, attended by the town-major, and some officers, and entered the outward cell, but sprung back the moment he beheld a figure like me, standing with a brick and up-lifted arm. I repeated what I had told the major, and he, immediately, ordered six grenadiers to force the door. The front cell was scarcely six feet broad, so that no more than two at a time could attack my entrenchment, and, when they saw my threatening bricks ready to descend, they leaped, terrified, back. A short pause ensued, and the old town-major, with the chaplain, advanced toward the door to soothe me : the conversation continued some time ; whose reasons were most satisfactory, and whose cause was the most just, I leave to the reader. The governor grew angry, and ordered a fresh attack. The first grenadier was knocked down, and the rest ran back to avoid my missiles.

The town-major, again, began a parley. " For God's sake, my dear Trenck," said he, " in what have I injured you, that you endeavour to effect my ruin ? I must answer for your having through my negligence concealed a knife. Be persuaded, I entreat you, Be appeased. You are not without hope, nor without friends."—My answer was, " —But will you not load me with heavier irons than before ?"

He went out, spoke with the governor, and gave me his word of honour that the affair should be no farther noticed, and that every thing should be exactly reinstated as formerly.

Here ended the capitulation, and my wretched citadel was taken. The condition I was in was viewed with pity ; my wounds were examined, a surgeon sent to dress them, another shirt was given me, and
the

the bricks clotted with blood, removed. I, meantime, lay half dead on my matrafs : my thirst was excessive, the surgeon ordered me some wine : two centinels were stationed in the front cell, and I was thus left, four days, in peace, unironed. Broth, also, was given me daily, and how delicious this was to taste, how much it revived and strengthened me, is wholly impossible to describe. Two days I lay in a slumbering kind of trance, forced, by unquenchable thirst, to drink whenever I awoke. My feet and hands were swelled ; the pains in my back, and limbs, were excessive.

On the fifth day, the doors were ready ; the inner was entirely platted with iron, and I was fettered as before : perhaps they found further cruelty unnecessary. The principal chain, however, which fastened me to the wall, like that I had before broken, was thicker than the first. They deeply regretted that, without the King's express commands, they could not lighten my afflictions, wished me fortitude and patience, and barred up my doors.

It is necessary I should here describe my dress. My hands being fixed and kept asunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the wall, I could neither put on shirt or stockings in the usual mode ; the shirt was, therefore, tied, and changed once a fortnight ; the coarse ammunition stockings were buttoned on the sides ; a blue garment, of soldier's cloth, was likewise tied round me, and I had a pair of slippers for my feet. The shirt was of the army linen ; and when I contemplated myself in this dress of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in such a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or justice, my conscience void of reproach, my heart of guilt ; when I reflected on my former splendor in Berlin and Moscow, and compared it with this sad, this dreadful reverse of destiny, I was sunk in grief, or roused to indignation, that might have hurried the greatest hero, or philosopher,

philosopher, to madness or despair. I felt what can only be imagined by him who has suffered like me, after having, like me, flourished, if such can be found.

Pride, the justness of my cause, the unbounded confidence I had in my own resolution, and the labours of an inventive head and iron body, these, only, could have preserved my life. These bodily labours, these continued inventions, and projected plans to obtain my freedom, preserved my health. Who would suppose that a man, fettered, as I was, could find means of exercising himself? By swinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myself in a strong perspiration. After thus wearying myself, I slept soundly, and often thought how many generals, obliged to support all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the field; how many of those who had plunged me into this den of misery, would have been most glad, could they like me, have slept with a quiet conscience. Often did I reflect how much happier I was than those tortured on the bed of sickness, by gout, stone, and other diseases, terrible to man. How much happier was I in innocence, than the malefactor doomed to suffer the pangs of death, the ignominy of men, and the horrors of internal guilt!

In the following part of my history it will appear I often had much money concealed under the ground, and in the walls of my den, yet, would I have given a hundred ducats for a morsel of bread, it could not have been procured. Money was to me useless. In this I resembled the miser, who hoards yet lives in wretchedness, having no joy in gentle acts of benevolence. As proudly might I delight myself with my hidden treasure, as such misers, nay more, for I was secure from robbers.

Had fastidious pomp been my pleasure, I might have imagined myself some old field-marshal bedridden, who hears two grenadier centinels at his

door call, "Who goes there?" My honour, indeed, was still greater, for, during my last year's imprisonment, my door was guarded by no less than four. My vanity, also might have flattered itself, I hence might conclude how high was the value set on my head, since all this trouble was taken to hold me in security. Certain it is, that in my chains, I thought more rationally, more nobly, reasoned more philosophically on man, his nature, his real, his imaginary wants; the effects of his ambition, his passions, and saw more distinctly his dream of earthly good, than those who had imprisoned me, or those who guarded. I was void of the fears that haunt the parasite, who servilely wears the fetters of a court, and daily trembles for the loss of what vice and cunning have acquired. Those who usurped my Slavonian estates, and feasted sumptuously from the service of plate I had been robbed of, never eat their dainties with so sweet an appetite as I my ammunition bread, nor did their high-flavoured wines flow so limpid as my cold water.

Thus, the man, who thinks, being pure of heart, will find consolation, when under the most dreadful of calamities, convinced, as he must be, that those apparently most happy are frequently least, insensible as they are of the pleasures they might enjoy. Evil never is so great as it appears.

" Sweet are the uses of adversity,
 " Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
 " Wears yet a precious jewel in its head."

*As you like it.**

Happy

* The Baron has quoted a poem written and published by himself.

" Im uebel selbst steckt noch ein preis
 " Wenn man ihn unt zu finden weifs."

The similarity of the thought, which seems borrowed from Shakespeare, justifies a quotation so beautiful. T.

Happy he, who, like me, having suffered, can become an example to his suffering brethren.

YOUTH, prosperous, and imagining prosperity eternal, read my history attentively, though I should be in my grave! read feelingly, and bless my sleeping dust, if it has taught thee wisdom or fortitude!

FATHER, reading this, say to thy children, I, like them, in blooming youth, little prophesied of misfortune, which after fell thus heavy on me, and by which I am even still persecuted! Say that I had virtue, ambition, was educated in noble principles; that I laboured with all the zeal of enthusiastic youth to become wiser, better, greater than other men; that I was guilty of no crimes, was the friend of men, was no deceiver of man, or woman; that I first served my own country faithfully, and, after, every other in which I found bread; that I was never, during life, once intoxicated; was no gamester, no night rambler, no contemptible idler; that, yet, through envy and arbitrary power, I have fallen to misery, such as none but the worst of criminals ought to feel.

BROTHER, fly those countries where the lawgiver knows himself no law, where truth and virtue are punished as crimes: and if fly you cannot, be it your endeavour to remain unknown, unnoticed, in such countries; seek not favour or honourable employ, else will you become, when your merits are known, as I have been, the victim of slander and treachery; the behests of power will persecute you, and innocence will not shield you from the shafts of wicked men who are envious, or who wish to obtain the favour of princes, though by the worst of means.

SIRE, imagine not thou readest a romance; my head is grey, like thine. Read, yet despise not the world, though it has treated me thus unthankfully. Good men have I also found, who have befriended me in misfortune, and there where least I had claim, have I found them most. May my book assist thee

in noble thoughts; mayst thou die as tranquilly as I shall render up my soul to appear before the Judge of me and my persecutors. Be death but thought a transition from motion to rest. Few are the delights of this world, for him, who, like me, has learned to know it. Murmur not, despair not of Providence. Me, through storms, it has brought to haven; through many griefs to self knowledge; and, through prisons, to philosophy. He, only, can tranquilly descend to annihilation, who finds reason not to repent he has once existed. My rudder broke not, amid the rocks and quicksands, but my bark was wrecked upon the strand of knowledge. Yet, even on these clear shores are impenetrable clouds. I have seen more distinctly than it is supposed men ought to see. Age will decay the faculties, and mental, like bodily sight, must then decrease. I even grew weary of science, and envied the blind-born, or those who, till death, have been wilfully hood-winked. How often have I been asked, "What didst thou see?" --And, when I answered with sincerity and truth, how often have I been derided as a liar, and been persecuted, by those who determined not to see themselves, as an innovator, singular and rash!

Sire, I farther say to thee, teach my descendants to seek the golden mean, and say with Gellert—"The boy Fritz needs nothing; his stupidity will insure his success."—Examine our wealthy and titled lords, what their abilities are, and what their honours, then enquire how they are attained, and, if thou canst, discover in what true happiness consists.

Once more to my prison. The failure of my escape, and the recovery of life, from this state of despair, led me to moralize deeper than I had ever done before; and, in this depth of thought, I found unexpected consolation and fortitude, and a firm persuasion I yet should accomplish my deliverance.

Geshardt, my honest grenadier, had infused fresh hope, and my mind now busily began to meditate
new

new plans. A centinel had been placed before my door, that I might be more narrowly watched, and the married men of the Prussian states were appointed to this duty, who, as I shall hereafter shew, were more easy to persuade in aiding my flight, than foreign fugitives. The Pomeranian will listen, and is by nature, kind, therefore, may easily be moved, and induced to succour distress.

I began to be more accustomed to my irons, which I had before found so insupportable; I could comb out my long hair, and could tie it at last with one hand. My beard, which had so long remained unshaven, gave me a grim appearance, and I began to pluck it up by the roots. The pain, at first, was considerable, especially round the lips; but this, also, custom conquered, and I performed this operation in the following years, once in six weeks, or two months; as the hair thus plucked up required that length of time before the nails could again get hold. Vermin did not molest me; the dampness of my den was inimical to them. My limbs never swelled, because of the exercise I gave myself, as before described. The greatest pain I found was in the continued unvivifying dimness in which I lived.

I had read much; had lived in, and seen much of, the world; vacuity of thought, therefore, I was little troubled with; the former transactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the persons I had known, I revolved so often in my mind that they became as familiar and connected, as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exercise so perfect to me that I could compose speeches, fables, odes, satires, all which I repeated aloud, and had so stored my memory with them that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of these my prison labours. Accustomed to this exercise, days, that would otherwise have been

been days of misery, appeared but as a moment. The following narrative will shew how much esteem, how many friends, these compositions procured me, even in my dungeon, insomuch that I obtained light, paper, and finally, freedom itself. For these have I to thank the industrious acquirements of my youth, therefore, do I counsel all my readers so to employ their time. Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may be showered by monarchs upon the most worthless; but monarchs can give and take, say and unsay, raise and pull down. Monarchs, however can neither give wisdom nor virtue. Arbitrary power itself, here, and before these, is foiled.

How wisely has Providence ordained that the endowments of industry, learning and science, given by ourselves, cannot be taken from us; while on the contrary, what others bestow is a fantastical dream, from which any accident may awaken us. The wrath of Frederic could destroy legions, and defeat armies; but it could not take from me the sense of honour, of innocence, and their sweet concomitant, peace of mind; could not deprive me of fortitude and magnanimity; I defied his power, rested on the justice of my cause, found in myself expedients wherewith to oppose him, was at length crowned with conquest, and came forth to the world, the martyr of suffering virtue.

Some of my oppressors now rot in dishonourable graves. Others, alas! in Vienna, remain immured in houses of correction, as Krügel and Zetto, or beg their bread, like Gravenitz and Doo. Nor are the wealthy possessors of my estates more fortunate, but look down with shame whenever I and my children appear. We stand erect, esteemed, and honoured, while their injustice is manifest to the whole world.

Young man, be industrious, for, without industry, can none of the treasures I have described be purchased.

purchased. Thy labour will reward itself; then, when assaulted by misfortune, or even misery, learn of me, and smile; or shouldest thou escape such trials, still labour to acquire wisdom, that, in old age, thou mayest find content and happiness.

The years in my dungeon passed away as days, those moments excepted, when, thinking on the great world, and the deeds of great men, my ambition was roused: except when, contemplating the vileness of my chains, and the wretchedness of my situation, I laboured for liberty, and found my labours endless and ineffectual: except while I remembered the triumphs of my enemies, and the splendor in which those, by whom I had been plundered, lived. Then, indeed, did I experience intervals that approached madness, despair and horror: beholding myself destitute of friend or protector, the Empress herself, for whose sake I suffered, deserting me; reflecting on past times and past prosperity; remembering how the good and virtuous, from the cruel nature of my punishment, must be obliged to conclude me a wretch and a villain, and that all means of justification were cut off; oh, God! How did my heart beat! With what violence! What would I not have undertaken, in these suffering moments, to have put my enemies to shame! Vengeance and rage, then rose rebellious against patience: long suffering philosophy vanished, and the poisoned cup of Socrates would have been the nectar of the Gods.

Man, deprived of hope, is man destroyed. I found but little probability in all my plans and projects, yet did I trust that some of them should succeed, yet did I confide in them and my honest Gefhardt, and that I should still free myself from my chains.

The greatest of all my incitements to patient endurance was love. I had left behind me, in
Vienna,

Vienna, a lady, for whom the world still was dear to me; her would I neither desert nor afflict. To her and my sister was my existence still necessary. For their sakes, who had lost and suffered so much for mine, would I preserve my life; for them no difficulty, no suffering, was too great; yet them, alas! when long-desired liberty was restored, I found both in their graves. The joy for which I had borne so much, was no more to be tasted.

About three weeks after my attempt to escape, the good Gefhardt first came to stand sentinel over me; and the sentinel they had so carefully set was, indeed the only hope I could have to escape; for help must be had from without, or this was impossible.

The effort I had made had excited too much surprise and alarm, for me to pass without strict examination, since, on the ninth day after I was confined, I had, in eighteen hours, so far broken through a prison built purposely for myself, by a combination of so many projectors, and with such extreme precaution, which prison had universally been declared impenetrable.

Gefhardt scarcely had taken his post before we had free opportunity of conversing together; for, when I stood, with one foot on my bedstead, I could reach the aperture, through which light was admitted.

Gefhardt described the situation of my dungeon, and our first plan was to break through the foundation which he had seen laid, and which he affirmed to be only two feet deep.

Money was the first thing necessary. Gefhardt was relieved during his guard, and returned, bringing with him a sheet of paper rolled on a wire, which he passed through my grating; after which a piece of small wax-candle, some burning amadou (a kind of tinder), a match, and a pen. I now had

had light, pricked my finger, and wrote, with my blood, to my faithful friend, Captain Ruckhardt, at Vienna, described my situation in a few words, sent him an acquittance for three thousand florins on my revenues, and requested he would dispose of a thousand florins to defray the expences of his journey to Gummern, only two miles from Magdeburg. Here he was, positively, to be on the 15th of August. About noon, on this same day, he was to walk, with a letter in his hand; a man was there to meet him, smoking a roll of tobacco, to whom he must remit the two thousand florins, and return to Vienna.

I returned the written paper to Gefhardt by the same means it had been received, gave him my instructions, and he sent his wife with it to Gummern, by whom it was safely put in the post.

My hopes daily rose, and, as often as Gefhardt mounted guard, so often did we continue our projects. The 15th of August came, but it was some days before Gefhardt was again on guard; and oh! how did my heart palpitate when he came and exclaimed, "All is right! we have succeeded." He returned in the evening, and we began to consider by what means he should convey the money to me. I could not, with my hand chained to an iron bar, reach to the aperture of the window that admitted air; beside that it was too small. It was, therefore, agreed that Gefhardt should, on the next guard, perform the office of cleaning my dungeon, and that he then should convey the money to me in the water-jug.

This luckily was done. How great was my astonishment when, instead of one, I found two thousand florins! For I had permitted him to reserve half to himself, as a reward for his fidelity. He, however, had kept but five pistoles, which he insisted was enough.

Worthy

Worthy Gefhardt! This was the act of a Pomeranian grenadier! How rare are such examples! Be thy name and mine ever united. Live thou while the memory of me shall live. Never did my acquaintance with the great bring to my knowledge a soul so noble, so disinterested!

It is true, I afterwards prevailed on him to accept the whole thousand; but we shall soon see he never had them, and that his foolish wife, three years after, suffered by their means; however, she suffered alone, for he soon marched to the field, and therefore was unpunished.

Having money to carry on my designs, I began to put my plan of burrowing under the foundation into execution. The first thing necessary was to free myself from my fetters. To accomplish this, Gefhardt supplied me with two small files, and by the aid of these, this labour, through great, was effected.

The cap, or staple, of the foot-ring was made so wide that I could draw it forward a quarter of an inch. I filed the iron which passed through it on the inside, and the more I filed this away, the further I could draw the cap down, till at last the whole inside iron, through which the chains passed, was quite cut through: by this means I could slip off the ring, while the cap on the outside continued whole, and it was impossible to discover any cut, as only the outside could be examined. My hands, by continued efforts, I so compressed as to be able to draw them out of the handcuffs. I then filed the hinge, and made a screw-driver of one of the foot-long flooring nails, by which I could take out the screws at pleasure, so that at the time of examination no proofs could appear. The rim round my body was but a small impediment, except the chain, which passed from
my

my hand-bar, and this I removed, by filing an aperture in one of the links, which, at the necessary hour, I closed with bread, rubbed over with rusty iron, first drying it by the heat of my body; and would wager any sum, that, without striking the chain, link by link, with a hammer, no one, not in the secret, would have discovered this fracture.

The window was never strictly examined; I, therefore, drew the two staples by which the iron bars were fixed to the wall, and which I daily replaced, carefully plaistering them over. I procured wire from Gefhardt, and tried how well I could imitate the inner grating: finding I succeeded tolerably, I cut the real grating totally away, and substituted an artificial one of my own fabricating, by which I obtained a free communication with the outside, additional fresh air, together with all necessary implements, tinder and candles. That the light might not be seen, I hung the coverlid of my bed before the window, so that I could work fearless and undetected.

Every thing prepared, I went to work. The floor of my dungeon was not of stone, but oak planks, three inches thick; three beds of which were laid crosswise, and were fastened to each other by nails half an inch in diameter, and a foot long. Having worked round the head of a nail, I made use of the hole at the end of the bar, which separated my hands, to draw it out, and this nail I sharpened upon my tomb-stone into an excellent chissel.

I now cut through the board more than an inch in width, that I might work downward, and having drawn away a piece of board which was inserted two inches under the wall, I cut this so as exactly to fit: the small crevice it occasioned I stopped up with bread, and strewed over with dust, so as to prevent

prevent all suspicious appearance. My labour under this was continued with less precaution, and I had soon worked through nine-inch planks. Under them I came to a fine white sand, on which the Star-Fort was built. My chips I carefully distributed beneath the boards. If I had not help from without, I could proceed no further, for to dig were useless, unless I could rid myself of my rubbish. — Gefhardt supplied me with some ells of cloth, of which I made long narrow bags, stuffed them with earth, and passed them between the iron bars, to Gefhardt, who, as often as he was on guard, scattered or conveyed away their contents.

Furnished with room to secrete them under the floor, I obtained more instruments, together with a pair of pistols, powder, ball, and a bayonet.

I now discovered that the foundation of my prison, instead of two, was sunk four feet deep. — Time, labour, and patience, were all necessary to break out unheard, and undiscovered ; but few things are impossible where resolution is not wanting.

The hole I made was obliged to be four feet deep, corresponding with the foundation, and wide enough to kneel and stoop in ; the laying down on the floor to work, the continual stooping to throw out the earth, the narrow space in which all must be performed, these made the labour incredible ; and, after this daily labour, all things were to be replaced, and my chains again resumed, which, alone, required some hours to effect. My greatest aid was in the wax candles, and light I had procured ; but as Gefhardt stood sentinel only once a fortnight my work was much delayed ; the sentinels were forbidden to speak to me under pain of death : and I was too fearful of being betrayed to dare to seek new assistance.

Being

Being without a stove, I suffered much this winter from cold, yet my heart was chearful, as I saw the probability of freedom; and all were astonished to find me in such good spirits.

Gefhardt, also, brought me supplies of provisions, chiefly consisting of sausages and salt meats, ready dressed, which increased my strength, and, when I was not digging, I wrote satires and verses: thus time was employed, and I contented, even in a prison.

Lulled into security, an accident happened, that will appear almost incredible, and by which every hope was nearly frustrated.

Gefhardt had been working with me, and was relieved in the morning. As I was replacing the window, which I was obliged to remove on these occasions, it fell out of my hand, and three glass panes were broken. Gefhardt was not to return till guard was again relieved; I had, therefore, no opportunity of speaking with him, or concerting any mode of repair. I remained nearly an hour conjecturing and hesitating, for, certainly, had the broken window been seen, as it was impossible I should reach it when fettered, I should, immediately, have been more rigidly examined, and the false grating must have been discovered.

I, therefore, came to a resolution, and spoke to the centinel, who was amusing himself with whistling, thus: "My good fellow, have pity, not upon me, but upon your comrades, who, should you refuse, will certainly be executed: I will throw you thirty pistoles through the window, if you will do me a small favour." He remained some moments silent, and at last answered in a low voice, "What! have you money then?"—I, immediately, counted thirty pistoles, and threw them through the window. He asked to know what he was to do: I told my difficulty, and gave him the size of the panes,
in

in paper. The man, fortunately, was bold and prudent. The door of the palisadoes, through the negligence of the officer, had not been shut that day: he prevailed on one of his comrades to stand sentinel for him, during half an hour, while he, meantime, ran into the town, and procured the glass, on the receipt of which I instantly threw him out ten more pistoles. Before the hour of noon and visitation came, every thing was once more reinstated, my glazery performed to a miracle, and the life of my worthy Gefhardt preserved!—Such is the power of money in this world! This is a very remarkable incident, for I never spoke after to the man who did me this signal service.

Gefhardt's alarm may easily be imagined: he, some days after, returned to his post, and was the more astonished as he knew the sentinel who had done me this good office; that he had five children, and was a man most to be depended on by his officers, of any one in the whole grenadier company.

I now continued my labour, and found it very possible to break out under the foundation; but Gefhardt had been so terrified, by the late accident, that he started a thousand difficulties in proportion as my end was more nearly accomplished; and, at the moment when I wished to concert with him the means of flight, he persisted it was necessary to find additional help, to escape in safety, and not bring both him and myself to destruction.—At length, we came to the following determination, which, however, after eight months incessant labour past, rendered my whole project abortive.

I wrote once more to Ruckhardt, at Vienna; sent him a new assignment for money, and desired he would again repair to Gummern, where he should wait six several nights, with two spare horses, on the glacis of Klosterbergen, at the time appointed, every thing being prepared for flight. Within these
six

six days, Gefhardt would have found means, either in rotation, or by exchanging the guard, to have been with me. Alas! the sweet hope of again beholding the face of the sun, of once more obtaining my freedom, endured but three days: Providence thought proper otherwise to ordain. Gefhardt sent his wife to Gummern, with the letter, and this silly woman told the post-master her husband had a aw-suit at Vienna, that, therefore, she begged he would take particular care of the letter, for which purpose she slipped ten rix-dollars into his hand.

This unexpected liberality raised the suspicions of the Saxon post-master, who, therefore, opened the letter, read the contents, and instead of sending it to Vienna, or at least, to the general postmaster at Dresden, he preferred the traitorous act of taking it, himself, to the governor of Magdeburg, who then, as at present, was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

What were my terrors, what my despair, when I beheld the prince himself, about three o'clock in the afternoon, enter my prison, with his attendants, present my letter, and ask, in an authoritative voice, who had carried it to Gummern.—My answer was, “ I knew not.” Strict search was immediately made, by smiths, carpenters, and masons, and, after half an hour's examination, they discovered neither my hole, nor the manner in which I disencumbered myself of my chains: they only saw that the middle grating, in the aperture where the light was admitted, had been removed. This was boarded up the next day, and only a small air-hole left, of about six inches diameter.

The Prince began to threaten; I persisted I had never seen the sentinel, who had rendered me this service, nor asked his name. Seeing his attempts all ineffectual, the governor, in a milder tone, said, “ You have ever complained, Baron Trenck, of
“ not

in paper. The man, fortunately, was bold and prudent. The door of the palisadoes, through the negligence of the officer, had not been shut that day: he prevailed on one of his comrades to stand sentinel for him, during half an hour, while he, meantime, ran into the town, and procured the glass, on the receipt of which I instantly threw him out ten more pistoles. Before the hour of noon and visitation came, every thing was once more reinstated, my glazery performed to a miracle, and the life of my worthy Gefhardt preserved!—Such is the power of money in this world! This is a very remarkable incident, for I never spoke after to the man who did me this signal service.

Gefhardt's alarm may easily be imagined: he, some days after, returned to his post, and was the more astonished as he knew the sentinel who had done me this good office; that he had five children, and was a man most to be depended on by his officers, of any one in the whole grenadier company.

I now continued my labour, and found it very possible to break out under the foundation; but Gefhardt had been so terrified, by the late accident, that he started a thousand difficulties in proportion as my end was more nearly accomplished; and, at the moment when I wished to concert with him the means of flight, he persisted it was necessary to find additional help, to escape in safety, and not bring both him and myself to destruction.—At length, we came to the following determination, which, however, after eight months incessant labour past, rendered my whole project abortive.

I wrote once more to Ruckhardt, at Vienna; sent him a new assignment for money, and desired he would again repair to Gummern, where he should wait six several nights, with two spare horses, on the glacis of Klosterbergen, at the time appointed, every thing being prepared for flight. Within these
six

six days, Gefhardt would have found means, either in rotation, or by exchanging the guard, to have been with me. Alas! the sweet hope of again beholding the face of the sun, of once more obtaining my freedom, endured but three days: Providence thought proper otherwise to ordain. Gefhardt sent his wife to Gummern, with the letter, and this silly woman told the post-master her husband had a aw-suit at Vienna, that, therefore, she begged he would take particular care of the letter, for which purpose she slipped ten rix-dollars into his hand.

This unexpected liberality raised the suspicions of the Saxon post-master, who, therefore, opened the letter, read the contents, and instead of sending it to Vienna, or at least, to the general postmaster at Dresden, he preferred the traiterous act of taking it, himself, to the governor of Magdeburg, who then, as at present, was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

What were my terrors, what my despair, when I beheld the prince himself, about three o'clock in the afternoon, enter my prison, with his attendants, present my letter, and ask, in an authoritative voice, who had carried it to Gummern.—My answer was, “ I knew not.” Strict search was immediately made, by smiths, carpenters, and masons, and, after half an hour's examination, they discovered neither my hole, nor the manner in which I disencumbered myself of my chains: they only saw that the middle grating, in the aperture where the light was admitted, had been removed. This was boarded up the next day, and only a small air-hole left, of about six inches diameter.

The Prince began to threaten; I persisted I had never seen the centinel, who had rendered me this service, nor asked his name. Seeing his attempts all ineffectual, the governor, in a milder tone, said, “ You have ever complained, Baron Trenck, of
“ not

“ not having hitherto been legally sentenced, or
 “ heard in your defence; I give you my word of
 “ honour, this you shall be, and, also, that you shall
 “ be released from your fetters, if you will only tell
 “ me who took your letter.” To this I replied, with
 all the fortitude of innocence,—“ Every body
 “ knows, my Lord, I have never deserved the treat-
 “ ment I have met with in my country. My heart
 “ is irreproachable. I seek to recover my liberty
 “ by every means in my power; but were I capable
 “ of betraying the man whose compassion has in-
 “ duced him to succour my distress; were I the
 “ coward that could purchase happiness at his ex-
 “ pence, I then should, indeed, deserve to wear
 “ these chains with which I am loaded. For myself,
 “ do with me what you please; yet remember I am
 “ not wholly destitute, I am still a captain in the Im-
 “ perial service, and a descendant of the house of
 “ Trenck.”

Prince Frederic stood, for a moment, unable to
 answer, then renewed his threats, and left my dun-
 geon. I have since been told that, when he was out
 hearing, he said to those round him, “ I pity his
 “ hard fate, and cannot but admire his strength
 “ of mind !”

I must here remark that, when we remember the
 usual circumspection of this great man, we are oblig-
 ed to wonder at his imprudence in holding a con-
 versation of such a kind with me, which lasted a
 considerable time, in the presence of the guard. The
 soldiers of the whole garrison had afterward the ut-
 most confidence, as they were convinced I would not
 meanly devote others to destruction, that I might
 benefit myself. This was the way to gain me esteem
 and intercourse among the men, especially as the
 Duke had said he knew I must have money conceal-
 ed, for that I had distributed some to the centinels.

He

He had scarcely been gone an hour before I heard a noise near my prison. I listened—What could it be? I heard talking, and learned a grenadier had hanged himself to the palisadoes of my prison!

The officer of the guard, and the town-major, again entered my dungeon to fetch a lanthorn they had forgotten, and the officer, at going out, told me in a whisper, “One of your associates has just hanged himself.”

It is impossible to impart my terror or sensations; I believed it could be only my kind, my honest Gefhardt. After many gloomy thoughts, and lamenting the unhappy end of so worthy a fellow, I began to recollect what the prince had promised me, if I would discover my accomplice. I knocked at the door, desiring to speak to the officer; he came to the window, and asked what I wanted: I requested he would inform the governor that, if he would send me light, pen, ink, and paper, I would discover my whole secret.

These were accordingly sent; an hour's time was granted; the door was shut, and I left alone. I sat myself down, began to write on my night-table, and was about to insert the name of Gefhardt, but my blood thrilled, and shrunk back to my heart. I shuddered, rose, went to the aperture of the window, and called, “Is there no man, who, in compassion, will tell me the name of him who has hanged himself, that I may deliver many others from destruction!” The window was not nailed up till the next day, I, therefore, wrapped five pistoles in a paper, threw them out, called to the sentinel, and said, “Friend, take these, and save thy comrades; or, go, betray me, and bring down innocent blood upon thy head!”

The paper was taken up; a pause of silence ensued: I heard sighs, and, presently after, a low voice said, “His name is Schüt, he belonged to the

company of Ripps."——I had never heard the name before, or known the man, but I, however, immediately wrote SCHÜTZ, instead of Gefhardt. Having finished the letter, I called the lieutenant, who took that and the light away, and again barred up the door of my dungeon. The duke, however, suspected there must be some collusion, and every thing remained in the same state; I obtained neither hearing nor court-martial. I learned in the sequel, the following circumstances, which will display the truth of this apparently incredible story.

While I was imprisoned in the citadel, a centinel came to the post under my window, cursed and blasphemed, exclaiming aloud—"Damn the Prussian service! If Trenck only knew my mind, he would not long continue in his infernal hole!" I entered into discourse with him, and he told me, if I could give him money to purchase a boat, in which he might cross the Elbe, he would soon make my doors fly open, and set me free.

Money at that time I had none; but I gave him a diamond shirt buckle, worth five hundred florins, which I had concealed. I never heard more from this man; he spoke to me no more. He often stood centinel over me, which I knew by his Westphalian dialect, and I as often addressed myself to him, but ineffectually, he would make no answer.

This Schütz must have sold my buckle, and let his riches be seen, for, when the duke left me, the lieutenant on guard said to him—"You must, certainly, be the rascal who carried Trenck's letter; you have, for some time past, spent much money, and we have seen you with louis-d'ors. How came you by them?" Schütz was terrified, his conscience accused him, he imagined I should betray him, he having deceived me. He therefore, in the first agonies of despair, came to the palisadoes, and hung himself before the door of my dungeon.

How

How wonderful is the hand of Providence! The wicked man fell a sacrifice to his crime, after having escaped a whole year, and the faithful and benevolent-hearted Gefhardt was thereby saved.

The centinels were now doubled, that any intercourse with them might be rendered more difficult. Gefhardt again stood guard, but he had scarcely opportunity, without danger, to speak a few words: he thanked me for having preserved him, wished me better fortune, and told me the garrison, in a few days, would take the field.

This was dreadful news: my whole plan was destroyed at a breath. I, however, soon recovered fresh hopes. The hole I had sunk was not discovered: I had five hundred florins, candles, and implements.

The seven years war broke out about a week after, and the regiments took the field. Major Weyner came, for the last time, and committed me to the care of the new major of the militia, Bruckhausen, who was one of the most surly and stupid of men. I shall often have occasion to mention this man.

All the majors and lieutenants of the guard, who had treated me with compassion and esteem, now departed, and I became an old prisoner in a new world. I acquired greater confidence, however, by remembering that both officers and men in the militia were much easier to gain over than in the regulars; the truth of which opinion was soon confirmed to me.

Four lieutenants were appointed, with their men, to mount guard at the Star-Fort in turn, and, before a year had passed, three of them were in my interest.

The regiments had scarcely taken the field ere the new governor, General Borck, entered my prison like what he was, an imperious, cruel tyrant. The King, in giving him the command, had informed him he must answer for my person with his head;

he, therefore, had full power to treat me with whatever severity he pleased.

Borck was a stupid man, of an unfeeling heart, the slave of despotic orders, and, as often as he thought it possible I might rid myself of my fetters, and escape, his heart palpitated with fear. In addition to this, he considered me as the vilest of men and traitors, seeing his King had condemned me to imprisonment so cruel, and his barbarity toward me was thus the effect of character, and meanness of soul.

——He entered my dungeon not as an officer, to visit a brother officer in misery, but as an executioner to a felon. Smiths then made their appearance, and a monstrous iron collar, of a hand's breadth, was put round my neck, and connected with the chains of the feet by additional heavy links. My window was walled up, except a small air-hole. He even, at length, took away my bed, gave me no straw, and quitted me, with a thousand revilings on the Empress Queen, her whole army and myself. In words, however, I was little in his debt, and he was enraged even to madness.

What my situation was under this additional load of tyranny, and the command of a man so void of human pity, the reader must imagine. My greatest good fortune consisted in the ability I still had to disencumber myself of all the irons that were connected with the ankle-rims, and the provision I had of light, paper, and implements; and, though it was, apparently, impossible I should break out undiscovered by both centinels, yet had I the remaining hope of gaining some officer, by money, who, as in Glatz, should assist my escape.

Had the commands of the King been literally obeyed, escape would have been wholly impossible; for, by this, all communication would have been totally cut off with the centinels. To this effect the
four

four keys of the four doors were each to be kept by different persons : one with the governor, another with the town-major, the third with the major of the day, and the fourth with the lieutenant of the guard. I never could have found an opportunity to have spoken with any one of them singly. These commands, at first, were rigidly observed, with this exception, that the governor made his appearance only every week. Magdeburg became so full of prisoners that the town-major was obliged to deliver up his key to the major of the day, and the governor's visitations wholly subsided, being an English mile and a half distant from the Star-Fort.

General Walrave, * who had been a prisoner ever since the year 1746, was also at the Star-Fort, but he had apartments, and three thousand rixdollars a year. The major of the day and the officers of the guard dined with him daily, and generally staid till evening. Either from compassion, or a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, these gentlemen entrusted the keys to the lieutenant on guard, by which means I could speak with each of them alone when they made their visit, and they themselves, at length, sought these opportunities. My consequent undertakings I shall relate with all brevity, that I may not fatigue the reader with all the arts and inventions of a wretched prisoner endeavouring to escape.

Borck

* Walrave (or Walrabe) had long been suspected of partiality to Austria, he being a bigotted catholic. He was, at length, betrayed by a mistress, for whose husband (for she was married) he had obtained the dignity of counsellor. Frederic, when he granted the title, told Walrave it certainly became the mistress of a general to have a counsellor for a husband. He was superintendent of the fortifications, and was confined, not, according to Fischer, in 1746, but in 1748, in a prison himself had built at Magdeburg. T.

See Fischer Geschichte Fried. II. Thiel
I. S. 265.

Borck had selected three majors and four lieutenants only for this service, as those he best could trust. My situation was truly deplorable. The enormous iron round my neck pained me, and prevented motion, and I durst not attempt to disengage myself from the pendent chains till I had, for some months, carefully observed the mode of their examination, and which parts they supposed were perfectly secure. The cruelty of depriving me of my bed was still greater : I was obliged to sit upon the bare ground, and lean with my head against the damp wall. The chains that descended from the neck-collar were obliged to be supported first with one hand, and then with the other, for, if thrown behind, they would have strangled me, and if hanging forward, occasioned most excessive headachs. The bar between my hands held one down while leaning on my elbow ; I supported with the other my chains, and this so benumbed the muscles, and prevented circulation, that I could perceive my arms sensibly waste away. The little sleep I could have in such situation may easily be supposed, and, at length body, and mind sunk under this accumulation of miserable suffering, and I fell ill of a burning fever.

The tyrant Borck was inexorable ; he wished to expedite my death, and rid himself of his troubles and terrors. Here did I experience what was the lamentable condition of a sick prisoner, without bed, refreshment, or aid from human being. Reason, fortitude, heroism, all the noble qualities of the mind, decay when the corporal faculties are diseased, and the remembrance of my sufferings, at this dreadful moment, still agitates, still inflames my blood, so as almost to prevent an attempt to describe what they were.

Yet hope had not totally forsaken me. Deliverance seemed possible, especially, should peace ensue ;

sue; and I sustained, perhaps, what mortal man never bore, except myself, being, as I was, provided with pistols or any such immediate mode of dispatch.

I continued ill about two months, and was so reduced, at last, that I had scarcely strength to lift the water-jug to my mouth. What must the sufferings of that man be who sits two months on the bare ground in a dungeon so damp, so dark, so horrible, without bed or straw, his limbs loaded as mine were, with no refreshment but dry ammunition bread, without so much as a drop of broth, without physic, without consoling friend, and who, under all these afflictions must trust, for his recovery, to the efforts of nature alone!

Sickness itself is sufficient to humble the mightiest mind; what then is sickness, with such addition of torment? The burning fever, the violent headaches, my neck, swelled and inflamed with the irons, enraged me almost to madness. The fever, and the fetters, together, fixed my body so that it appeared like one continued wound—Enough! Enough!—The malefactor extended living on the wheel, to whom the cruel executioner refuses the last stroke, the blow of death, must yet, in some short period, expire: he suffers nothing I did not then suffer, and these my excruciating pangs continued two dreadful months—Yet, can it be supposed? There came a day!—A day of horror, when these mortal pangs were, beyond imagination, increased! I sat, scorched with this intolerable fever, in which nature and death were contending, and, when attempting to quench my burning entrails with cold water, the jug dropped from my feeble hands, and broke! I had four and twenty hours to remain without water. So intolerable, so devouring, was my thirst, I could have drank human blood! Ay, in my madness, had it been the blood of my father!

* * * * *

Willingly

Willingly would I have seized my pistols, but strength had forsaken me ; I could not open the place I was obliged to render so secure.

My visitors, next day, supposed me gone at last—I lay motionless, with my tongue out of my mouth. They poured water down my throat, and found life.

Oh God ! Oh God ! How pure, how delicious, how exquisite, was this water !—My insatiable thirst soon emptied the jug ; they filled it anew, bade me farewell, hoped death would soon relieve my mortal sufferings, and departed.

The lamentable state in which I lay, at length, became so much the subject of general conversation, that all the ladies of the town united with the officers, and prevailed on the tyrant, Borck, to restore me my bed.

Oh Nature, what are thy operations ? From the day I drank water in such excess, I gathered strength, and, to the astonishment of every one, soon recovered.—I had moved the heart of the officer who inspected my prison ; and, after six months, six cruel months of added misery, the day of hope again began to dawn.

One of the majors of the day entrusted his key to Lieutenant Sonntag, who came alone, spoke in confidence, and related his own situation, complained of his debts, his poverty, his necessities ; and I made him a present of twenty five louis-d'ors, for which he was so grateful that our friendship became unshaken.

The three lieutenants all commiserated me, and would sit hours with me, when a certain major had the inspection ; and he himself, after a time, would even pass half the day with me. He too was poor ; and I gave him a draft for three thousand florins : hence new projects took birth.

Money became necessary ; I had dispersed all I possessed, a hundred florins excepted, among the officers.

officers. The eldest son of Captain K —, who officiated as major, had been cashiered: his father complained to me of his distress, and sent him to my sister, not far from Berlin, from whom he received a hundred ducats. He returned, and related her joy at hearing from me. He found her exceedingly ill, and she informed me, in a few lines, that my misfortunes, and the treachery of Weingarten, had entailed poverty upon her, and an illness which had endured more than two years. She wished me a happy deliverance from my chains, and, in expectation of death, committed her children to my protection. She, however, grew better, and married a second time, Colonel Pape; but died in the year 1758. I shall forbear to relate her history; it, indeed, does no honour to the ashes of Frederic, and would but less dispose my own heart to forgiveness, by reviving the memory of her oppressions and griefs.

K —n returned, happy, with the money: all things were concerted with the father. I wrote to the Countess Bestuchef, also to the Grand Duke, afterwards Peter III. recommended the young soldier, and entreated every possible succour for myself.

K —n departed, through Hamburg, for Petersburg, where, in consequence of my recommendation, he became a captain, and, in a short time, major. He took his measures so well that I, by the intervention of his father, and a Hamburg merchant, received two thousand rubles from the Countess, while the service he rendered me made his own fortune in Russia.

To old K —, who was as poor as he was honest, I gave three hundred ducats; and he, till death, continued my grateful friend. I distributed nearly as much to the other officers; and matters proceeded so far that Lieutenant Glotin gave back the keys to the major without locking my prison, him-
self

self passing half the night with me. Money was given to the guard to drink, and thus every thing succeeded to my wish, and the tyrant, Borck, was deceived. I had a supply of light; had books, newspapers and my days passed swiftly away. I read, I wrote. I busied myself so thoroughly that I almost forgot I was a prisoner.—When, indeed, the surly, dull blockhead, Major Bruckhausen, had the inspection, every thing must be carefully reinstated. Major Z——, the second of the three, was wholly mine, he was particularly attached to me, for I had promised to marry his daughter, and, should I die in prison, bequeathed him a legacy of ten thousand florins.

Lieutenant Sonntag got false hand-cuffs, made for me, that were so wide I could easily draw my hands out; the lieutenants, only, examined my irons: the new hand-cuffs were made perfectly similar to the old, and Bruckhausen had too much stupidity to remark any difference.

The remainder of my chains I could disencumber myself of at pleasure. When I exercised myself, I held them in my hands, that the centinels might be deceived by their clanking. The neck-iron was the only one I durst not remove; it was, likewise too strongly rivetted. I filed through the upper link of the pendent chain however, by which means I could take it off, and this I concealed with bread in the manner before mentioned.

So could I disencumber myself of most of my fetters, and sleep at ease. I again obtained sausages and cold meat, and thus my situation, bad as it still was, became less miserable.—Liberty still, however, was most desirable: but, alas! not one of the three lieutenants had the courage of a Schell: Saxony, too, was in the hands of the Prussians, and flight, therefore, more dangerous.—Persuasion was in vain, with men determined to risk nothing,
but,

but, if they went, to go in safety. Will, indeed, was not wanting in Glotin and Sonntag; but the first was a poltroon, and the latter a man of scruples, who, likewise, thought this step might be the ruin of his brother in Berlin.

The centinels were doubled, therefore my escape through my hole, which had been two years dug, could not, unperceived by them, be effected; still less could I, in face of the guard, clamber the twelve-feet high palisadoes. The following labour, therefore, though Herculean, was undertaken.

Lieutenant Sonntag, measuring the interval, between the hole I had dug and the entrance of the gallery in the principal rampart, found it to be thirty-seven feet. Into this, it was possible, I might by mining, penetrate. The difficulty of the enterprise was lessened by the nature of the ground, a fine white sand.—Could I reach the gallery, my freedom was certain. I had been informed how many steps to the right or left must be taken, to find the door that led to the second rampart: and, on the day when I should be ready for flight, the officer was, secretly, to leave this door open. I had light, and mining tools, and I was further to rely on money and my own discretion.

I began and continued this labour about six months. I have already noticed the difficulty of scraping out the earth with my hands. The noise of instruments would have been heard by the centinels; I had scarcely mined beyond my dungeon wall before I discovered the foundation of the rampart was not more than a foot deep, a capital error, certainly, in so important a fortress. My labour became the lighter as I could remove the foundation stones of my dungeon, and was not obliged to mine so deep.

My work, at first, proceeded so rapidly that, while I had room to throw back my sand, I was able,

able, in one night, to gain three feet ; but ere I had proceeded ten feet I discovered all my difficulties. Before I could continue my work, I was obliged to make room for myself, by emptying the sand out of my hole upon the floor of the prison, and this itself was an employment of some hours. The sand was obliged to be thrown out by the hand, and, after it thus lay heaped in my prison, must be again returned into the hole, and I have calculated that, after I had proceeded twenty feet, I was obliged to creep under ground, in my hole, from fifteen hundred to two thousand fathoms, within twenty-four hours, in the removal and replacing of the sand. This labour ended, care was to be taken that, in none of the crevices of the floor there might be any appearance of this fine white sand. The flooring was next to be exactly replaced, and my chains to be resumed.—So severe was the fatigue of one day, in this mode, that I was always obliged to rest the three following.

To reduce my labour, as much as possible, I was constrained to make the passage so small that my body only had space to pass, and I had not room to draw my arm back to my head. The work too must all be done naked, otherwise the dirtiness of my shirt must have been remarked ; the sand was wet, water being found at the depth of four feet, where the stratum of gravel began. At length, the expedient of sand bags occurred to me ; by which it might be removed out and in more expeditiously. I obtained linen from the officers, but not in sufficient quantities ; suspicions would have been excited at observing so much linen brought into the prison. At last, I took my sheets, and the ticking that inclosed my straw, and cut them up for sand bags, taking care to lie down on my bed, as if ill, when Bruckhausen paid his visits.

The labour, toward the conclusion, became so intolerable as to incite despondency. I frequently
sat

sat contemplating the heaps of sand, during a momentary respite from work, and, thinking it impossible I could have strength or time again to replace all things as they were, resolving patiently to wait the consequence, and leave every thing in its present disorder. Now, I can assure the reader that, to effect concealment, I have scarcely had time, in twenty-four hours, to sit down and eat a morsel of bread. Recollecting, however, the prodigious efforts, and all the progress I had made, hope would again revive, and exhausted strength return; again would I begin my labours, that I might preserve my secret and my expectations: yet has it frequently happened that my visitors have entered a few minutes after I had reinstated every thing in its place.

When my work was within six or seven feet of being accomplished, a new misfortune happened that at once frustrated all further attempts. I worked, as I have said, under the foundation of the rampart near where the centinels stood. I could disencumber myself of my fetters, except my neck-collar, and its pendent chain. This, as I worked, though it had been fastened, got loose, and the clanking was heard by one of the centinels about fifteen feet from my dungeon. The officer was called, they laid their ears to the ground, and heard me as I went backward and forward to bring my earth bags. This was reported the next day, and the major, who was my best friend, with the town-major, and a smith and mason, entered my prison.—I was terrified.—The lieutenant, by a sign, gave me to understand I was discovered. An examination was begun, but the officers would not see, and the smith and mason found every thing, as they thought, safe. Had they examined my bed, they would have seen the ticking and sheets were gone.

The town-major was a dull man, was persuaded the thing was impossible, and said to the sentinel,
 “ Block-

“ Blockhead ! you have heard some mole under
 “ ground, and not Trenck. How indeed could
 “ it be, that he should work under ground at such
 “ a distance from his dungeon ? ” Here the scrutiny ended.

There was now no time for delay. Had they altered their hour of coming, they must have found me at work ; but this, during ten years, never happened, for the governor and town-major were stupid men, and the others, wishing me all success, were wilfully blind. In a few days I could have broken out, but, when prepared, wished to wait for the visitation day of the man who had treated me so tyrannically, Bruckhausen, that his own negligence might be evident, but this man, though he wanted understanding, did not want good fortune. He was ill for some time, and his duty devolved on K——.

He recovered, and, the visitation being over, the doors were no sooner barred than I began my supposed last labour. I had only three feet farther to proceed, and it was no longer necessary I should bring out the sand, I having room enough to throw it behind me. What my anxiety was, what my exertions were, may well be imagined. My evil genius, however had decreed that the same centinel, who had heard me before, should be that day on guard. He was piqued by vanity, to prove he was not the blockhead he had been called : he, therefore again laid his ear to the ground, and again heard me burrowing. He called his comrades first, next the major : he came, and heard me likewise ; accordingly, they went without the palisadoes, and heard me working near the door, at which place I was to break into the gallery. This door they immediately opened, entered the gallery with lanthorns, and waited to catch the hunted fox when unearthed.

Through the first small breach I made, I perceived a light, and saw the heads of those who were
 expecting

expecting me. This was, indeed, a thunder stroke! —I crept back, made my way through the sand I had cast behind me, and awaited my fate with thundering! I had still the presence of mind to conceal my pistols, candles, paper, and some money, under the floor, which I could remove.—The money was disposed in various holes, well concealed, also between the pannels of the doors; and, under different cracks in the floor, I hid my small files and knives.

Scarcely were these disposed of before the doors resounded; the floor was covered with sand bags; my hand-cuffs, however, and the separating bar, I had hastily resumed, that they might suppose I had worked with them on, which they were silly enough to credit, highly to my future advantage.

No man was more busy on this occasion than the brutal and stupid Bruckhausen, who put many interrogatories, to which I made no reply, except assuring him that I should have completed my work some days sooner, had it not been his good fortune to fall sick, and that this only had been the cause of my failure.

The man was absolutely terrified with apprehension: he began to fear me, grew more polite, and even supposed nothing was impossible to me.

It was too late to remove the sand, therefore the lieutenant and guard continued with me, so that this night, at least, I did not want company. When the morning came, the hole was first filled and walled up; the planking was renewed. The tyrant Borck was ill, and could not come, otherwise my treatment would have been still more lamentable. The smiths had ended before the evening, and the irons were heavier than ever. The foot chains instead of being fastened as before, were screwed and rivetted; all things else remained as formerly. They were employed in the flooring till the next day, so
that

that I could not sleep, and at last I sunk down with weariness.

The greatest of my misfortunes was they again deprived me of my bed, because I had cut it for sand bags. Before the doors were barred, Bruckhausen, and another major examined my body very narrowly. They often had asked me, where I concealed all my implements? my answer was, "Gentlemen, Beelzebub is my best and most intimate friend; he brings me every thing I want, supplies me with light, we play whole nights at piquet, and, guard me as you please, he will finally deliver me out of your power."

Some were astonished, others laughed. At length, as they were barring the last door, I called, "Come back, gentlemen! You have forgotten something of great importance." In the interim I had taken up one of my hidden files. When they returned, "Look ye, gentlemen," said I, "here is a proof of the friendship Beelzebub has for me; he has brought me this in a twinkling." Again they examined, and again they shut the doors. While they were so doing, I took out a knife, and ten louis-d'ors, called, and they returned, grumbling curses: then I showed them the knife and the louis-d'ors. Their consternation was excessive; and I diverted my misfortunes, by jesting at such blundering, short-sighted, keepers. It was soon rumoured through Magdeburg, especially among the simple and the vulgar, that I was a magician, to whom the devil brought all I asked.

One Major Holtzkammer, a very selfish man, profited by this report. A foolish citizen had offered him fifty dollars, if he might only be permitted to see me through the door, being very desirous to have a peep at a wizard. Holtzkammer told me, and we jointly determined to sport with his credulity.

credulity. The major gave me a mask, with a monstrous nose, which I put on when the doors were opening, and threw myself into a heroic attitude.—The affrighted Burger drew back, but Holtzkammer stopped him, and said, have patience but for some quarter of an hour, and you shall see he will assume quite a different countenance. The Burger waited, my mask was thrown by, and my face appeared whitened with chalk, and made ghastly. The Burger again shrank back; Holtzkammer kept him in conversation, and I assumed a third farcical form. I tied my hair under my nose, and a pewter dish to my breast, and, when the door a third time opened, I thundered, “Be—gone, rascals, or I’ll set your necks awry!” They both ran, and the silly Burger, eased of his fifty dollars, scampered first.

The major in vain laid his injunctions on the Burger never to reveal what he had beheld, it being a breach of duty in him to admit any person whatever to the sight of me. In a few days, the necromancer Trenck was the theme of every ale-house in Magdeburg, and the person was named who had seen me change my form thrice in the space of one hour.—Many false, and ridiculous circumstances were added, and at last the story reached the governor’s ears. The citizen was cited, and offered to take his oath to the truth of what himself, and the major, had seen. Holtzkammer, accordingly, suffered a severe reprimand, and was some days put under arrest. We frequently laughed, however, at this adventure, which had rendered me so much the subject of conversation.—Miraculous reports were the more easily credited, because no one could comprehend how, in despite of the load of irons I carried, and all the vigilance of my guards, I should be continually able to make

new attempts, while those appointed to examine my dungeon seemed, as it were, blinded and bewildered. A proof, this, how easy it is to deceive the credulous, and whence have originated witchcraft, prophecies, and miracles.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

